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Contents

Editorial Notes 1
Leading Editorials
The American Revival 3
The Facts Behind the Phrase 5
The State's Right to Experiment 7
Labor on Prison Reform 9
General Articles
The New British Government ..... H. N. Brailsford 11
The Returned Soldier in Canada ..... C. E. Fryer 13
Experiment in Education ..... John Dewey 15
Charlie Chaplin's Art ..... Harvey O'Higgins 16
Thaw and the Law's Insanity ..... Pearce Bailey, M.D. 18
Correspondence 20
After the Play ..... F. H. 23
Reviews of Books
Beneath the Battle ..... F. H. 24
Skirting the Eternities ..... H. J. L. 26
Joseph Fels ..... R. B. 28

THROUGH the Embassy in Washington it is announced that Germany will reply to the President's address. Since the Chancellor's last utterance on December 12th, the German government has had a chance to learn that a peace offered in the consciousness of victory will be scornfully rejected by the Allies amid the applause of the neutral world, that a proposal to enter blind negotiations will be regarded as a trap and will lead only to renewed determination on the part of the Allies and to a more "unfair" neutrality (on the armed ship question) by the United States. To many, especially among the Germans, it must seem a little puzzling that those of us who believe in a negotiated rather than a dictated peace should still wish to see the German offer of negotiations rejected. The answer is that there are negotiations and negotiations. There is one kind which consists in secretive dickering by a set of diplomats. There is another kind which consists in working out the detailed application of principles announced and accepted before conference begins. It is this kind which the Allied governments and President Wilson insist upon, and until Germany accepts it her offers of peace will be regarded as dangerous. Until the world knows what kind of settlement Germany wishes to negotiate, her moral isolation will continue.

IF Germany should actually state her principles of settlement, they will of course be scrutinized analytically. On the basis of what is included and excluded it should be fairly possible to arrive at an estimate of the main directions of German policy, and hence of the prospects of a stable settlement. As President Wilson pointed out, the kind of peace which is made will decide whether a league of nations is possible. The world will therefore look to the reply for light on these questions: Is Germany seeking rapprochement west or east? If to the west, what is she offering Belgium and France and Italy? How does she interpret the phrase "freedom of the seas"? Does she imply by it merely a reduction of world navalism in aid of continental militarism, or does she mean economic and political organization of the seas to insure equal opportunity in time of peace and a boycott of the aggressor in time of war? In the east, the big question will turn on the Bagdad corridor, Russian passage through the Straits, the reconstitution of Poland and the protection of oppressed nationalities. The test put to the proposals will be: are they military and imperial or international and liberal? Complete frankness no one expects at this time. The Allies and the President are both of them somewhat deliberately ambiguous. What we have a right to expect is sufficient definiteness to form a basis for further exchanges during the spring and summer while the Allies are fighting for a more favorable military situation.

INCREDIBLE though it seems, the ending of American isolation has become a party question. With a few exceptions the Republicans in the Senate intend to obstruct and if possible to wreck the policy enunciated by the President. The Democrats as a whole are supporting it, though

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with an incompetence which is ominous. Now no sane man supposes that difference of opinion on this the greatest of all issues before our people and before the world can possibly be honest opinion if it divides on party lines. So far as the Democrats go, the truth is they are, in considerable bewilderment, following a leader. The Republicans are merely demonstrating again what the last campaign proved, that they are a party without principle or purpose, a collection of irresponsible factions, an organized incompatibility. They can agree on nothing but anti-Wilsonism. For Lodge and Roosevelt to join hands with Borah and Cummins in defense of American isolation is the very depth of absurdity. Senator Lodge knows better. He knows enough about international affairs and the facts of modern life to see that a restatement of American policy is necessary. Just as in the last campaign the Republican party threw away every trace of conviction and appealed shamelessly for disgruntled votes, so to-day it is trying to line up opposition to the President out of extreme pacifists, arrant militarists, out of men who want a know-nothingism about Europe and men who think we should have gone to war for Belgium. This is not wisdom, it is not critical opposition, it is not common sense; it is petty politics and vicious prejudice.

THERE is a powerful faction of strong pro-Allies sympathizers, especially along the eastern seaboard, who need to watch their step. They can no more afford to make common cause with the Borahs now than they could afford in the last campaign to remain quiet under Mr. Hughes's effort to capture a hyphenated vote. They are putting themselves into a state of mind where their prejudices against Mr. Wilson will once more cause them to sweat with the discomfiture of their position. They will simply make themselves ridiculous if after all their talk about Belgium and France and Prussian militarism they refuse to aid the President in his effort to start an organization of the world in which the crimes of this war are less likely to be repeated. They tell us day after day that they cannot hold up their heads for shame because America is not fighting to support civilization. And when they are offered a chance to prepare America to defend it in the future, they rush to the Senator from Idaho and tell him he's a grand man because he wishes to commit this nation to permanent neutrality. Is it any wonder if reasonable men conclude that deeper than their concern for civilization, deeper than their feelings about Belgium, deeper than their dislike of moral neutrality, is their prejudice against Woodrow Wilson?

FOR the Republican party to make itself the defender of American isolation is a confession of bankruptcy. From every platform and editorial desk it has been telling the country that it was the party of national responsibility and international purpose. The Democrats were negative, irresponsible, without policy, and blind to the facts of the modern world. Yet to-day it is a Democratic President who grasps the truth that isolation is over and strives to guide our entrance into world politics towards stability and safety. It is the Republican party which proposes to crouch at its own fireside, build a high tariff wall, arm against the whole world, cultivate no friendships, take no steps to forestall another great war, and then let things rip. The party which was inspired by the idea of American union is becoming a party of secession and states' rights as against world union. There is nothing in the party, nothing in its tradition to justify this policy. It is born of partisanship and hostility to the President, and when the issue is carried to the country, it will be found that the American people do not tolerate petty politics in this affair. It is altogether too solemn an issue to be cluttered up with the fate of parties, the prejudices and ambitions of leaders.

IN passing the annual rivers and harbors bill, carrying appropriations of $38,000,000, the House struck out the provision creating a commission of Cabinet officers and members of Congress to investigate waterways improvements, with a view to recommending plans for coördinating all such activities. In moving the passage of the bill, now in no way distinguished from an ordinary pork measure, Representative Sparkman thanked the House for "the generous consideration" that had been shown him in regard to the project for improving the harbor of his own city in Florida. Nothing could more clearly show the need for a commission on river and harbor expenditures than Mr. Sparkman's declaration that this was "unexpected, and, besides, brought with it such manifestations of goodwill." Goodwill and unexpectedness should not determine the needs of a harbor.

IF the success of a hunger strike is to be measured by persistence to the death, Mrs. Ethel Byrne has not succeeded. She promised that if she were convicted by Brooklyn magistrates for spreading information about birth control she would refuse to eat in the workhouse. She did refuse to eat. She starved herself to the verge of collapse. She was then fed forcibly and restored to a fairly normal condition, and will probably submit to taking nourishment under medical direction until she completes her thirty days' sentence. This is

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mitigated martyrdom, no doubt, and gives a certain satisfaction to those who had to deal with Mrs. Byrne in her defiance, but it does sharpen the issue between self-respecting citizens and the existing law. The law is hypocritical. Outside Roman Catholic circles, birth control is practised by practically all well-to-do, well informed married couples. To talk of "the solemn mandate of the legislature," as Justice Garvan did in this connection, is to be absurd. Is the solemn mandate of the legislature brought home to established practitioners and their respectable patients? Certainly not. Mrs. Byrne is an unselfish woman to encounter this legislative hypocrisy, and a brave woman to bring out the cruelty of its application.

OVER a thousand delegates from all parts of the country assembled at the Fourth National Foreign Trade Convention in Pittsburgh last week. The most noticeable feature was the presence of the smaller manufacturers. The report of a general committee pointed out that the future of our foreign trade depends primarily upon the initiative and enterprise of business men themselves, the function of the government being to remove such disadvantages as may now be imposed by legislation, and to give such assistance as the government, through its recognized agencies, may extend. The Council urged the early passage of the Webb bill for coöperation in foreign trade; recommended that the Shipping Board adopt a sound shipping policy; urged that the treaty relations between European nations be given careful study in order that our government may be prepared to enter into the negotiation which must follow the war, and, in conclusion, urged the immediate adoption of a flexible, bargaining tariff. The program outlined by the convention is one which must be carefully studied as the contribution of influential business men in an effort to assume their responsibilities in developing world trade.

LAST week we staggered our readers with a display of Latin and Greek. This week we wish to confess that such culture is not the normal atmosphere of our editorial office. The Latin was filched from the Standard Dictionary. The Greek was painfully copied from the title page of a book. It made sense, but as we have since mislaid the book we are unable to inform eager correspondents what the sense was. When the printer started to work he had no Greek type. Then began a search around New York for some one who could lend us some Greek type. Finally a Greek newspaper was conscripted. Then no one was found who could read proof. So a Greek editor was conscripted. Now Professor Emily Putnam writes the New York *Times* and hints that our extension into Greek contains typographical errors. And yet we estimate that our staff represents in all about thirty years' study of the Greek language.

The American Revival

FOR two and a half years we have been an uneasy people. Those who thought at all about our future were discouraged and ashamed. It looked as if we could not and would not rise to the gigantic meaning of the world's crisis. While the people of Europe were showing a courage such as no one dreamed existed in men, we seemed to be relaxed. While Europe was compressing epochs into months, tradition and isolation held us fast. We were unable to adjust ourselves to the new world, or to make our own life in accordance with the facts. Public opinion in this country was scattered, partisan, petty, and seemingly indifferent. It could be frightened a little, aroused to generosity a little, but it could not gather itself into a current large enough and persistent enough to carry through any great enterprise. Things had come to such a pass that men actually said openly that America would never find its soul till it had been tested by blood and iron.

The issue we have had to face is this: can a democracy learn by the experience of others? Must we repeat what England and France have suffered before we can rise as they have risen? Is it possible for a nation to profit from a demonstration, or do we have to learn all over again in our own tears what a wiser people might learn by sympathy and imagination? There was a possibility that we might; though some of us had grown rich we had grown uncomfortable, our very prosperity made a good many of us ashamed. There is probably no parallel in history for the amount of bad conscience which has existed these last years in America. An ever widening circle has felt that we were not doing our part, that we were slack and discordant, sentimental and bitter, ragged and frittering. This uneasiness has been the one hopeful element in the national spirit. It was a discontent aching for leadership which would sweep small-mindedness before it.

We have been waiting a long time for that leadership, and impatiently. Genius might have produced it sooner. We had no genius at hand. We had only men of ordinary abilities, overworked men, unprepared men. We had propagandists and partisans in plenty, but few men had the knowledge and the courage to cut paths which might become the highways of a great nation. The pioneer must precede the leader. It is only when an understanding has been reached that a purpose can arise. We

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have been stumbling and struggling for that understanding, for we had reached a crossroad in our history, we had immense decisions to make, and we stood perplexed and ashamed because we could not see far enough into the darkness. In our bewilderment we have said many bitter things to each other, and outraged much of that goodwill which a diverse people must preserve. We turned on each other, because we did not know how to turn towards the future.

For some time there has been evidence that we were gathering ourselves together, and within the last two weeks a new leadership has become audible. It is still fragile and confused; it may perish in discord, it may mean the beginning of a better time. The President's address to the Senate, the speeches of Mr. Root and Mr. Stimson at the Congress of Constructive Patriotism, and the address of Mr. Herbert Hoover in New York are signs of a new temper and a new intelligence in our national life. Rightly understood, they are of one piece, and really of one meaning. They constitute the elements of an American revival around a purpose which would justify us to ourselves and to the world.

In the President's address were stated the terms on which we could leave our isolation, and pledge ourselves to the organization of the world. Mr. Root, with a non-partisanship which does him the highest honor, accepted the principle and emphasized the direct responsibilities of such a pledge. Mr. Hoover, of the Belgian Relief Commission, had something to say which in many ways is fully as important as anything which the President has announced. This is a large claim but it can be sustained. What Herbert Hoover said in New York Thursday noon is among the three or four most important things uttered in America since the war began. In national significance it takes equal rank with the formulation of foreign policy, military and social preparedness. He spoke the truest words which have been spoken about America's good name.

The mass of our people have not yet understood the meaning of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. They have thought of it as a gigantic system of relief. It is that, of course. It has saved a nation. Some who looked a little closer have regarded it in Lord Curzon's phrase, "as a miracle of scientific organization." It is that. The world has never seen a finer work or one so nobly done. But the C.R.B. is not only relief, not only the highest efficiency, and the most devoted volunteer service. It is peculiarly an American enterprise, and it could never have succeeded but for the fact that America was supposed to be standing behind it. In a letter dated October 20th, 1916, Lord Grey wrote to Ambassador Page that "His Majesty's government . . . feels obliged to insist that either the whole work shall cease, or the American Commission shall continue to direct it as heretofore."

What has happened is that a group of private citizens has created an American obligation in Europe. This isn't the first time such a thing has happened. Usually the obligation created involves international trouble. In this case it involves the greatest opportunity of service that our people has had. The C.R.B. has weathered all its difficulties so far because in the last analysis it was supposed to have the support of the American people. The Commission has traded on that support, and we in the United States have assumed that we were giving it.

But the time has come when the illusions about Belgian relief has to be cleared away, because the whole work is in danger. America is not supporting the Commission. We have given about $9,000,000. We have made a profit of about $30,000,000 out of the purchases made in this country. Our per capita contribution is 8c., Tasmania's is $6.53. The British government is giving in addition to the private contributions £750,000 a month, the French is giving 53,750,000 francs. Our government is giving nothing. Of the $250,000,000 expended, $150,000,000 has been spent in the American market. We have made the profits, taken the credit, the Allies have paid the bill. No wonder Mr. Hoover had to come home and say, "I have found during the last six or eight months, time and time again, that our influence was slipping from under us."

The shattering of the C.R.B. would not only starve Belgium and northern France, it would be a national humiliation such as we have never endured. It would be more than that. It would imperil our future beyond the power of statesmanship to protect us. Mr. Hoover had to speak cautiously, but he was speaking with a knowledge of Europe such as no other man possesses, when he said: "there is growing up, and there has grown up in Europe a note of bitterness which is bound seriously to affect all our relations with Europe for years to come. The only possible amelioration of this bitterness is for this country properly to assume its burden towards the peoples in Europe. The money which has been made from these people is money in trust, and unless America recognizes this trust she will pay dearly and bitterly for its possession."

It is not a question of charity, of comfortable benevolence to the poor. The C.R.B. is as much an American institution as the army or the navy; its protection is as truly a national interest as anything we may do in Mexico or Haiti; in its moral

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and material significance it is a prime factor in American foreign policy. It should be considered in every discussion of national security, in every mention of American honor. It is an outpost of the Republic, actually and symbolically. Its success and its extension now and after the war must be regarded as secondary to no other proposal before the American people.

The President, we believe, can not fail to see this. He cannot fail to understand that the splendid leadership inaugurated in the Senate depends for its fulfilment upon the thought emphasized by Mr. Root and upon the warning of our economic and humane duty raised by Mr. Hoover. An American revival will be under way when the President has integrated in one purpose our membership in a league of nations, industrial and social preparedness, and free and material service to the sufferers of Europe.

The Facts Behind the Phrase

IN addressing the Senate to secure American interest in a future league of peace, President Wilson faced a problem whose roots strike deep into the past and whose consequences may reach far into the future. He had to remember a number of highly important factors which seem remote at the moment to many whose sympathies are closely engaged in the cause of the Allies. His aim was to gain definite support for a future international organization. He had to arouse this support in a country with a profound tradition of pacific isolation. He had to speak in such a way that his words would be valid not only at the moment, but six months from now, a year from now. He knew he would be heard with equal clearness by the two groups of belligerents who hate and distrust each other to the extremity, in the toils of a war which is still in the balance. No matter what he might have said, no statesman could have spoken under such circumstances without arousing bitter opposition, unless he spoke ineffectively.

Why should he have chosen to accept the necessary resentment by declaring in favor of a negotiated, rather than a dictated peace? His other definitions of the sort of peace the United States would be willing to help guarantee accord fairly well with a liberal interpretation of the Allies' terms. Will it not be necessary for the Allies to dictate these terms? Is it not sheer moral blindness to wish to see Germany emerge from the war without tangible humiliation? Does not such a wish imply that the Allies are fighting to no good purpose? Does it not insult every man who has given or risked his life in their cause?

These are hard questions, and to answer them we must go back and consider the states of mind and of fact with which Mr. Wilson had to deal. His primary object was to give the American people a sufficient reason to commit itself to a break with its uninterrupted tradition of isolation. Few Englishmen, Frenchmen or Canadians understand how deep-seated this tradition has become. Announced by Washington, it has been reaffirmed on every political platform, in every school history. It is so strong that when the present war broke out it seemed fantastic to say that we might run any real danger of being drawn into the conflict. It is so strong that when many of our influential citizens first became enraged at the violation of Belgian neutrality, they did not think of doing anything more than to utter an official protest. Even after our understanding of Allied feeling had immensely widened and deepened, the Lusitania itself did not pull us in. More firmly than any other maxim of world policy, we had accepted the theory of the founders of the nation that European alliances, with their secret diplomacy and intrigue, were dangerous for us; that a democracy could not play that game. And no matter how our sympathy grew with the liberal purposes of the Allied peoples, the rank and file of our public could not help seeing that there were issues in this war besides the ones which we understood. Many of us would have been glad to fight in helping to repel the German invasion of France and Belgium—some Americans are in fact fighting it. But few of us wished to be associated with Italian or Russian imperial dreams, or with the quarrel about trade routes in the Near East. These were part of the traditional diplomatic conflict which we feared. So we have been torn between a desire to help the western democracies in turning back unwarranted aggression, and a well grounded hesitation before departing from our historic policy.

Of course it goes without saying that America would never think of helping to guarantee a peace imposed by Germany on the Allies. But suppose the Allies dictate a peace to Germany? If they dictate a peace we may be almost sure that their terms will be interpreted at the maximum. In complete victory the hand of the moderates would be forced by the promises already made to the extremists. Such a peace, without going outside the announced formula, might demand the dismemberment of Hungary for the benefit of Rumania, Serbia and Italy. It might mean the bottling up of German trade with the Near East by a Russian Constantinople and an Italian Trieste. It might begin the stifling of German trade elsewhere by a hostile tariff barrier. It might specify the retention of all German colonies by the Allies. It might include the cession to France of German-speaking populations bordering the Rhine, and the cession to

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Russia of Posen—an arrow-head pointing at Berlin. It might bring about the splitting of the Central Empires by an independent Bohemia. Is it not safe to say that under such circumstances Germany would never rest until somehow or other she had made an attempt to regain her lost prosperity and prestige? If Poland can retain its national aspirations after a hundred years of dismemberment, if the cry of *revanche* can echo for forty-five years in France after the loss of two provinces not wholly French, surely it is not unrealistic to expect that such humiliation would not be forgotten by the Central Powers. The leaders who have already convinced the German people that this is a war of defense against the encroachment of the iron ring would be believed forever.

Now, morally speaking, Germany may deserve such humiliation; and it may be that such a peace would give the Allied peoples a sufficient military protection against her in the future. Nevertheless a league to enforce a peace upon that basis would be nothing more nor less than a perpetuation of the present alliance, and would be recognized as such in this country. To take part in such a league, formed for the express purpose of suppressing Germany for all time, would be a mixing in the kind of European politics that we have always justly feared. When the question of pledging American force to such a league came up, the proposal would certainly be defeated. Mr. Wilson was merely stating a sure presumption. He did wisely to forestall American apprehensions that he merely would try to bring us into an offensive and defensive alliance under a new name. He also dealt honorably in notifying the Allies that they cannot expect us to join one. If that is the kind of peace the Allies want, we do not suggest that they should not fight for it as long as they wish. If their extremists are right in saying that the only guaranty of future peace is dictation to a vanquished Germany, they will not need a league of nations, and any discussion of our entrance into such a league is illusory. The Allies may choose either coöperation with the President in creating a league of nations built on a moderate peace, or a humiliated Germany—provided they can do the humiliating—plus a régime of heavy competitive armaments. We cannot and would not interfere with the freedom of choice of the Allies in this matter; but the alternative is a real one and must be recognized. Mr. Wilson would have overlooked reality had he not seen the alternative, and would have shirked his duty had he not stated it.

Sympathizers with the Allies are likely to forget also that Mr. Wilson's words were heard in Germany. We must remember that when Germany asked for a discussion of peace, she announced herself a victor, and pointed to the war map as proof of her statement. To the German extremists the address to the Senate comes as a notification that America will not stand behind a peace proposed on any such understanding. Nothing could be clearer than that we have declared against any annexation on the part of Germany, that we are ready to help curb any aggression in the future, and that we specifically denounce the policy of territorial expansion by force of arms. At the same time Mr. Wilson introduces a wedge between the conservatives and the liberals, who have been solidified by the Allied refusal to negotiate. The German extremist has been saying to the liberal, "Your moderate policy is founded on a delusion; the Entente wishes to partition the Central Powers and bottle us all up together. Our army and navy are our only means of self-preservation." The President's address now gives the liberals a leverage. It raises a hope that a German victory may not be the only alternative to German humiliation. And if, as the Allies say, a liberalized Germany is the best chance of future peace, anything which strengthens the German liberals ought to be of advantage to the rest of the world. If Mr. Wilson had in effect endorsed the extreme Allied demand for a dictated peace, Germany unless victorious would have been thereby debarred from participation in a league of nations, and the German people would have been thrown permanently into the hands of their military caste—for they would have seen no other means of protection. There might possibly be a chance for liberalism in Germany if she were badly defeated, but there would be no chance if at the same time she were to be faced by a hostile world alliance.

And finally, what does the endorsement of a negotiated peace mean in relation to the Allies? It does not, most certainly, mean an immediate peace, unless Germany should offer unexpectedly favorable terms. It does not mean a peace which would not include the absolute denial of German aggression—for such a peace would contradict the other terms of Mr. Wilson's address. The only Allied purpose which the offensive phrase seeks to prevent is the "punishment" of Germany. It is, of course, too much to expect that those who have suffered so deeply from a war of such extreme ruthlessness should not resent the suggestion that they forego the punishment. The bitterness engendered by war is something that is angered even by the approach of logic, and still more by a counsel of moderation from one who has not suffered. It is not because we are not sensitive to this fact that we endorse the President's stand. It would be easy to regard nothing but the feelings of those who we believe are sacrificing everything for a righteous cause. It would be a profound relief to be able to accept without question their every decision. It

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would be a way of avoiding recriminations if, having stayed out of the war, we should abstain from saying anything as to its settlement. Yet we are deeply concerned in the prevention of future catastrophes like the present; we see little chance of doing so without a league of nations founded on a stable peace; and we see little chance for that league if competitive armament is to go on, and if Germany is to be humiliated, made vengeful, and through fear handed over to her militarists for good and all. We know that resentment at the President's phrase must be expected, but we also know the permanent facts that phrase represents, and we hope the transient resentment will eventually vanish in the face of the lasting facts. As for punishment, will not Germany see that war does not pay if after this she has to return within her former boundaries, with the loss of some previously conquered territory and over two million men, and with a war debt the interest on which is nearly a third of her total yearly income?

We hesitate to suggest a darker event, but anyone candidly looking into the future must face the possibilities. The Allies are now fully confident of winning the war. But suppose the spring offensive should fail; suppose month after month should go by without a victory until the burden of hostilities in blood and treasure becomes insupportable. In that case Mr. Wilson's pronouncement would act, so far as it acted at all, as an insurance for the Allies. It would say to Germany: "If you renounce territorial annexation and negotiate a just peace, evacuating Belgium, France, Serbia, Poland and Rumania, we will help construct an international guaranty, which will protect you against Russian aggression. But if you insist on terms of victory, laying up against yourselves the will to revenge in the Allied nations, we shall arm for eventualities, in the knowledge that you are the aggressor to be feared." Would not the Allies then be content that Mr. Wilson had so far been able to break through American isolation as to declare for a peace without victory?

The State's Right to Experiment

SHALL Oregon permit its women to be employed at a wage of less than $8.64 per week? This is the issue argued before the Supreme Court a few days ago; and upon its constitutionality decision will have shortly to be made. Upon that decision will depend the fate of similar legislation in eleven other states of the union. No one at all concerned with the study of industrial problems but must hope anxiously that the weapon of social progress involved in this legislation, the right of the states to validate or to invalidate hypotheses by experiment, will not be stricken from our hands. To that end the National Consumers' League under the trained direction of Miss Josephine Goldmark has compiled in the brief presented to the Court what is practically a graphic survey of the evidence for such legislation. The value of the method originally used in the now classic case of Muller v. Oregon has never received so admirable a justification as in this comprehensive study. So convincing a body of demonstrated experience has rarely been collected as the basis for judicial inquiry.

No fair-minded observer can doubt that, on the economic side at least, a convincing case for a minimum wage for women is made out. Every aspect of its possibilities is studied in detail. Beginning, historically, as a tentative effort in a small Australian community, it may now be said to command the legislative assent of a great part of the civilized world. No community that has adopted it has ever found it necessary to doubt its original wisdom. On the contrary, the amazing thing—the original Victorian statute is only twenty years old—is the rapidity of its progressive extension. It is bound up, of course, with the fundamental movement of modern civilization, the attempt to create a minimum standard of life below which no worker shall fall. It is from experience that this movement has been born. The bad effect of low wages on public health is now a commonplace of vital statistics. But that effect is only a point on the circumference of a vicious circle. It is low wages that are responsible for a decline in public morals. It is low wages that prevent the elevation of the national standard of life and thus split the community into those two nations which, as Disraeli argued half a century ago, may well prove the fundamental danger in an hour of crisis.

In the case of women these evils are particularly acute. No standard of women's wages seems to exist. The law of supply and demand, as it is naïvely conceived, simply fails to operate. A chance that is as blind as it is cruel will establish every degree of different wages not merely in the same trade, but also in the same locality as to different shops similarly circumstanced. Nor is this all. Even when we know the rate of pay we have no knowledge as to its relation to actual earnings. The time that is lost from industrial and personal causes—seasonal unemployment, ill-health and the like—will nullify conclusions that have sometimes borne a tinge of undemonstrated optimism. Moreover, the lack of these standards has resulted, in Mr. Balfour's most forcible phrase, in what is simply a "forced sale of value" in no wise related either to the service rendered or to the market-price of labor. Fair competition begins only at the base-

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line of minimum health and comfort. It is simply idle to talk of "freedom of contract" until a basis of equivalent bargaining power has been established. Such a basis, it is clear, can result only from the construction of a definite minimum relation between wages and the cost of necessary living. The facts demonstrate that a large proportion of the women workers in the United States are paid wages too low for decent self-support. We dare not remain satisfied with so disastrous a situation.

So much in positive proof the brief offers. But it also performs a task that is of almost equal service, even if it is negative in character. No cause has more greatly suffered than that of the minimum wage for women by the loose bandying about of hypotheses which are never brought to the touchstone of tabulated experience. This is an important need, and it is performed with a thoroughness beyond all praise. We are continually told, for example, that comparison between the wages of men and women is illegitimate because the earnings of women are not in fact necessity-earnings but simply pin-money, the pleasant trifle for dress and amusement. The argument is entirely fallacious. "Of the 75 to 80 per cent of working-women who live at home," says the brief, "an overwhelming proportion contribute practically all their wages either to supplement the family income, or to support families in which there is no male wage earner"; and the evidence quoted makes the induction a conservative estimate. The argument that increased wages are paid for by increased prices is shown to be one of those half-truths of which the missing part is more important than the present. Again and again establishments with a higher proportionate cost of labor have higher profits than establishments with lower labor costs. It is very striking, for example, that the result of the first five months of adjustment to the Oregon statute in retail stores should have been "a marked increase in wages and a rise in cost of only three mills to the dollar." Wages and prices simply bear no constant or ultimate relation to each other; and any argument based upon that assumption is in direct conflict with overwhelming testimony.

Nor may we accept the easy commonplace that the minimum wage in practice proves a maximum. The evidence from the operation in Oregon itself of the statute directly controverts such a conclusion. The investigation of the federal government has shown "that the percentage of women receiving $9.25 (legal minimum) increased from 8.4 per cent to 22.4 per cent. That this minimum did not also prove to be a maximum wage was proved by the fact that the percentage receiving *over* $9.25 per week increased also, rising from 40.6 per cent to 44.8 per cent." This, of course, is final. Nor is it made less clear that the antiquated fear of the displacement of women by men is ungrounded. On the contrary, the wage-increase seems positively to work the other way by stimulating managers and workers alike to new effort.

The aim of the statute is simply to prevent industry from becoming parasitic upon the national life, to relieve the increasing strain upon public expenditure of a burden that is the result of a wilful blindness to obvious facts. Upon the basis of widespread European and American experience Oregon has ventured to experiment. She has taken a hypothesis and put it to the test of the event. Strikingly has its application proved the rightness of her effort. She has come to grips with definite evils and she has met them with definite remedies. The *a priori* objections of jaded theorists she has answered with the stinging freshness of demonstrated truth. She has made a creative contribution to the knowledge of economic possibilities. States so different as Massachusetts, as California, as Wisconsin endorse her experience by their efforts. Is the object of the American Constitution to hinder the application of her powers to the solution of her problems?

It is a matter of the Fourteenth Amendment; and the legal argument contributed by Professor Felix Frankfurter to the brief is an effective analysis of that much-misinterpreted clause. The Fourteenth Amendment is not a gate but a road. It does not stop travel but provides a highway upon which legislatures must make their voyage. It asks them only to travel reasonably. But clearly the problem of reasonableness is a problem of fact. Each issue is in a sense unique and the method of confronting it must be related to its uniqueness. The Fourteenth Amendment thus does no more than ask a question. It inquires whether, in the given circumstances, the method of confronting the facts so comprehensively collected is justified by their nature. It does not put that inquiry from the standpoint of any preconceived economic or political theory. "Let the end be legitimate," said Marshall, "let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional." Professor Frankfurter has analyzed this fundamental canon in terms of the Oregon experiment. He has shown that the statute is in fact exactly the type of legislation for which it provides. It would, in truth, be a strange and monstrous thing, if those who framed the Constitution had rendered it impermeable to the experience of a changing time.

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Labor on Prison Reform

THE program for prison reform which representatives of organized labor have just submitted to the New York Commission on New Prisons cuts straight through the barbarous conception of retribution that characterizes our penal law and concentrates attention upon the task of fitting the prisoners for restoration to responsible citizenship. It proposes that Sing Sing shall be rebuilt and equipped as a scientific clearing house for all convicts from all parts of the state; that after a thorough mental and physical examination they shall be distributed to appropriate hospitals, custodial institutions or industrial training schools.

A considerable percentage of convicts are not mentally responsible. To lecture them, as many of our criminal judges do, as if they were sages who had deliberately perverted their god-given faculties to spite society, is a grim jest; to punish them for their delinquency, instead of treating them as patients, proves a low public standard both of morals and intelligence. The herding of the mentally defective in institutions, without regard to the degrees of their defectiveness, tends to debase the curable to the level of the lower types. Some of the defectives need permanent hospital care; others, probably the majority, while needing permanent supervision, can be made self-supporting through a proper system of training. This training can best be given in the open air on farms. Organized labor is opposed to the suggestion attributed to certain state authorities that all mentally subnormal convicts shall for the sake of economy be segregated upon a single property of approximately eight hundred acres, because this would result in inadequate classification and deprive many of the thousands of prisoners of this type of the year-round occupation they need.

The program calls for the proper segregation of first from old offenders, of short-termers from long-termers, and their distribution to industrial schools on the basis of their individual qualifications and the market demand for various kinds of trained mechanics. It is with the young, short-term offenders that organized labor is especially concerned. The present conception of prison labor is that the prime object of industrial training is to save money for the state. This results in the training of the long-termers as permanent members of the prisons' industrial organization and the neglect of the young men who constitute the prisons' floating population. The young men who are qualified to become skilled mechanics form about one-fourth of the total prison population. To be saved to society and to themselves, they must be given a thorough industrial training at modern machinery so that they will find a market for their skill ready upon their release. If the prisons will undertake to make them competent mechanics by giving them a training equivalent to that of free apprentices, organized labor pledges itself not only to supply them with teachers but also to receive them into the unions of their trade and help them to secure employment, without discrimination.

All this is strikingly at variance with the popular conception of the attitude of organized toward convict labor. It is generally believed that organized labor's prime interest in penal legislation is to protect free labor against competition, even to the extent of condemning convicts to total idleness. That individual workingmen and individual unions share the almost universal public prejudice against men once convicted of crime there is no doubt. And organized labor has always, and rightly, taken the ground that free labor must be protected from the economic exploitation of prisoners either by the state directly for revenue, or by employers to whom many states sell prison labor at a large discount upon the market rate. The reasons for this position are obvious. There was a time, for example, when the state of Tennessee for the sake of an inconsiderable revenue sold the labor of its prisoners to mine owners. The result was, to quote a contemporary report to the American Federation of Labor, that "the free man was flung out of employment, pauperized and demoralized." In other cases—and this is a now common practice—states converted their prisons into subsidiaries of manufacturing concerns to whom they sold the labor of the prisoners at a small fraction of the wages which the manufacturer would have had to pay in the free market.

Such conditions provoked the hostility of organized labor against convict labor in general. Where states refused to provide a substitute for the sale of convict labor either outside of, or within the prison, the first result of the restrictive legislation secured by organized labor was the enforced idleness of prisoners. Moreover, where organized labor endorsed laws such as that enacted in Pennsylvania in 1898, which prohibited the introduction and use of labor-saving machinery, it made itself a party to a system which robbed even young offenders of due opportunity to prepare themselves for self-support upon release. For many years organized labor's zeal to protect free labor did result in cruelty and injustice.

But this injustice was not designed. It was due to the fact that organized labor had not been able to find a satisfactory solution for a problem that had baffled professional penologists. The first great step toward a solution in America was the

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"state use" system introduced in New York in 1894 which is Article Three, Section 29, of the Constitution. This important section reads in part as follows:

> No person in any such prison, penitentiary, jail or reformatory, shall be required or allowed to work while under sentence thereto, at any trade, industry, or occupation, wherein or whereby his work, or the product or profit of his work, shall be farmed out, contracted, given or sold to any person, firm, association or corporation. This section shall not be construed to prevent the legislature from providing that convicts may work for, and that the products of their labor may be disposed of to, the state or any political division thereof, or for or to any public institution owned by or managed and controlled by the state of any political division thereof.

This provision effectively met the demand of organized labor that the products of our penal institutions should not be brought into open competition with the products of free labor. But it has not brought relief to the prisoners or to society since it has failed "to provide such occupation for prisoners that they may learn and be skilled in occupations which would enable them to procure employment on their discharge and thus minimize the possibility of their return to prison."

It is significant that this criticism of the law should now be made by organized labor itself. Mr. J. J. Manning, who spoke for organized labor before the New York Commission, said that the constitution had evidently not worked out as intended, because in no case were men discharged from prison competent mechanics. Any industrial plan for our penal institutions, he said, which neglects or overlooks the human element is hopeless, for if it is the intent of society to correct the morals of those whom it withdraws from society, then it is the primal duty of that same society to provide for a possible means to bring about the reclamation of the prisoners.

The principal reason for this failure is that, even under the "state use" system, the dominant spirit of prison management is to save money to the state rather than to save men to society. The industries are not diversified with reference to a known demand of the market for skilled mechanics. The prisons are not equipped with modern machinery, supervision and instruction are not in the hands of skilled mechanics, and most of the skilled work is allotted to the long-termers. A skilled worker recently visited a prison garment-making shop. He found the style of cutting so antiquated that it wasted three coats in the dozen. Moreover, the state keeps no current inventory of the supplies needed by the various state institutions. Goods are made up in job lots and at haphazard. An order for ash cans nineteen inches in diameter to be delivered in thirty days comes from a state hospital; the prisoners had made up a job lot of ash cans eighteen inches in diameter and the prison's antiquated equipment made it impossible to fill the order in the specified time. In another institution a job lot of suits designed for prison employees had been made up and stored. When an order came, it was found that these suits were not of the right color and could not be used. The market for the prison product is not only limited to state institutions, but even this market is neither organized or developed. To meet this evil, organized labor has suggested a Board of Standardization and Classification to standardize and classify the commodities needed for the state institutions for a period of years.

And finally, organized labor proposes the payment to prisoners of wages based on the union scale, but adjusted to the efficiency of the convict, on the grounds that the simple placing behind walls of a human being does not alter his desire for advancement, and that the prisoner who knows that he is accumulating a financial reserve or helping to support those dependent upon him on the outside will have an incentive to more and better work and will thus more eagerly fit himself to take his normal place in society.

The conception dominating the entire program is admirable. It calls for a scientific and business-like reorganization of the prison system. It substitutes medical care and industrial education for a scheme of sordid revenge that defeats its own ends. And it has the endorsement of the most competent American authorities on practical prison reform. With this combined support, there is hope that it may hasten the removal of the open sores upon the body politic which most of our prisons are.

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The New British Government

THE crisis in which the fall of the Coalition has plunged us is barely at its end, and it wants some rashness, even now, to dogmatize about its meaning. It was a complex phenomenon. Its personal significance lies on the surface, and many Englishmen see, as yet, nothing more in it than the rivalry of incompatible characters. Its direct relation to the military conduct of the war is equally apparent, and on this the better type of English journalist prefers to lay stress. Both of these factors were powerfully at work, but there lay behind them a political conflict infinitely more real, more fundamental and more far-reaching than either of them—the decision in principle between the conceptions of a negotiated and a dictated peace. The factor of personal intrigue was shamelessly obvious, but if there had been no better reason for a change of government than personal ambitions and antipathies, the restless movement would have been buried long ago by the anger and contempt of the nation. One may dislike the manners and morals of those who forced the crisis, but it is a petty reading of history which reduces it to such small causes as these. It is equally idle to complain of the species of dictatorship which Lord Northcliffe has come to wield. One could wish that this terrific power were vested in more scrupulous hands and guided by a mind of longer range, but the omnipotence of the press is the direct result of the abdication of Parliament, and in the stifling atmosphere of wartime almost any vital display of character and independence is a relief, when one contrasts it with the inertia of a House of Commons dominated by the herd instinct.

The comparative failure of the Coalition Cabinet in the supreme strategical direction of the war was one of the causes of its fall. Its indecision was the inevitable consequence of its mixed composition, though if all the facts were known, it would probably be realized that the inevitable difficulty in coördinating the views of London, Petrograd, Paris and Rome was a much more serious source of indecision than any incompatibility of temper between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George. That was notoriously the case in all the eastern aspects of the war. The east is primarily the Russian sphere, and it is a dishonest and factious criticism which has blamed Lord Grey for our failure there. The amusing French communiqué which referred to "the respectable sentiments of the Allied sovereigns" towards King Constantine conveyed its clear hint. Things went ill not because there was friction, but on the contrary, because there was a continual effort of goodwill to compromise. We knew very well that we could not afford transport for a really big and successful expedition to Saloniki, without placing on our own shipping a burden beyond its capacity and jeopardizing our home supplies. The half-measure to which we agreed has been, as was inevitable, a military disappointment and also an economic strain. It is very doubtful whether any change of government can remove such inherent difficulties as this. No ally in our combination can over-ride the others for their good, as Germany dictates to her partners, while even within the new Cabinet there are probably points of view as sharply contrasted, and as sincere in their divergence, as there were in the old. None the less, it was possible, even when allowance was made for these permanent handicaps, to point to certain personal defects in the late Cabinet. Mr. Balfour, though he has always had a keen intellectual interest in strategy, was the last man in the world to impart decision and resource to the naval campaign. Lord Grey, in spite of an undeniable largeness and loftiness of mind, is not a quick, contriving intellect. Mr. Asquith is emphatically a man of words and formulæ, a governing man who balances opposing tendencies, and not a creative or far-seeing mind. I doubt whether Mr. Lloyd George is by nature either a man of action or an organizer, but he has the knack of talking as if he were both. He understands by quick divination what the public wants, and he has the dramatic instinct which enables him to supply the want. We have changed the team in control of the war because it is the easiest thing to change. We cannot alter geography; we cannot improvise aptitudes in ourselves which demand a generation of education; we cannot make Russia a modern community; but Cabinets are readily made.

The real ground for forcing a crisis was, however, more fundamental than this. The necessary changes in the allotment of posts within the Cabinet could have been made without the destruction of the Coalition. Mr. Asquith was not opposed to the eminently sensible notion of a small War-Council in constant session. Mr. Balfour, as the event proves, was not determined to remain at the Admiralty. Nor was there, so far as is known, any sharp issue of principle involved in any of the proposed war measures, as there had been, when conscription was adopted. An agitation less ruthless and better mannered than that which Lord Northcliffe's papers conducted could have achieved these desirable adjustments, and would have en-

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countered little resistance in the process. Why was the thing done in this needlessly wounding and offensive way? It is partly an answer to say that vulgar minds have their own characteristic forms of speech and can use no others, and that megalomania enjoys the sound of the crack of its whip. That answer (though it is part of the truth) underestimates the two personalities who led the movement. They were fighting for a large and impersonal end, and the realization of that end required a change more drastic than any reconstruction of the Cabinet. One need have no esoteric sources of information to reach this conclusion; a study of the Northcliffe papers is enough. For some weeks, but above all, during the days of the crisis, they were all engaged in suggesting, each with its own technique, that a victory for Mr. Lloyd George would be a triumph of patriotism over pacifist and pro-German tendencies. At one end of the scale the graceful and philosophic pen which writes the leading article in the literary supplement of the *Times* composed with much charity and some reflective power, an essay on "The Temptation of Peace." It proved, by appealing to the sublimest morality, that the war ought to go on until Germany is successfully invaded. At the other end of the scale the *Evening News* asserted in its noisiest type that German gold was being lavishly expended to prevent the formation of a Lloyd George Cabinet. Day after day the attack was directed pointedly at Lord Grey. The unlucky military incident at Athens coincided with the acute phase of the crisis, and, though the command in Greece is French and not British, it was reported under the elegant heading "Grey fooled again." The essential objective of the whole campaign was, in fact, the removal of Lord Grey from the Cabinet, and if the long scythe which Lord Northcliffe wields struck Mr. Asquith, Mr. Balfour, Mr. McKenna, and Lord Lansdowne as well, that was because these man were regarded as a group, and in order to remove Lord Grey it was necessary to remove them all. The real purpose of the movement was clearly avowed after its success in a leader of the *Times*, which summed up its victory in the words: "The spirit of pacifism has been effectually exorcized . . . We shall have no more German suggestions that English statesmen are listening to peace whispers."

The real history of this crisis began with the unauthorized declaration by Mr. Lloyd George against American mediation, and his adoption of the "knock-out blow" as his policy. That two sharply contrasted ideals of a settlement were in opposition was evident when Lord Grey followed that manifesto with his warm invitation to neutrals to work out the plan of a league of nations. There was no actual verbal contradiction between the two speeches. Lord Grey comes of a school which respects the decencies of public life. But the two men were obviously moving in two sharply separated regions of thought. A "knock-out blow," followed by a dictated peace could not prepare the way for a league of nations. Lord Grey said nothing whatever about the settlement, but one cannot dwell upon the thought of a world managing its affairs by organized conference, without realizing that the settlement which precedes it must be based on "give and take." The London *Nation*, which boldly pleads for a peace based on "general contentment," made this thought articulate, but no idea so daring as this has ever figured in a ministerial utterance. Very vaguely, very slowly the minds which have a life beyond the passing hour were turning towards the permanent interests of civilization, and calling in the future to coerce the instincts of the moment. Against them were ranged the emotional, impulsive, shorter-sighted minds which can grasp no ends more complex than a dramatic military victory. The moment for the critical choice between the two policies has not yet arrived. It would, indeed, be excessively difficult to enter on negotiations, while the salient military fact is the overthrow of Rumania. There was no question of an immediate peace, hardly perhaps of an early peace. On that point, I think, there have been some illusions in America. We have to reckon with the psychology of crowds, and though our advance on the Somme was a much larger military achievement than Mackensen's entry into Bucharest it lacked the spectacular element. The issue was simpler and broader. It was whether we are aiming at a negotiated or at a dictated peace, whether we have certain definite and limited purposes in view which must be achieved, or whether we must go on until the enemy has nothing left to bargain with, and must accept all our demands including the "breaking up" of Austria, the conquest of Poland, the annexation of Constantinople, and the economic program of Paris.

It seems, for the moment, that the *Times* has won, and on the surface the victory of Mr. Lloyd George, like the declaration of M. Trepoff, seems to throw the hope of a negotiated peace and a league of nations to follow it, into the infinitely distant future. It certainly has postponed it, but there are some balancing facts to be considered. In the first place, the Northcliffe purge has been incomplete. Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil are included in the Ministry, and they are at the very posts where their sagacity, moderation and experience are most necessary. They are not the men to force the pace or expose a wide front to attack, but

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they stand for the permanent ideals of civilization, and are as far as Lord Grey himself from sharing the primitive Northcliffe-Hughes-Carson conception of international relations. The line of division is not between Liberals and Tories; it is between the men who have resisted the hysteria of wartime and the men who have succumbed to it. The open discontent of the *Times* that these two men should be at the Foreign Office is an admission that its victory is incomplete. In the second place, labor has obtained a strategical position of some value. It is unfortunately as sharply divided as German socialism, and the majority includes no men of commanding ability. Its members who have obtained office are unlikely to wield any appreciable intellectual influence in the ministry. But they will feel the hostile pressure of unofficial opinion in the movement, and a moment may come when they will be forced to oppose the Northcliffe-Carson tendency. More important still is the liberation of the official Liberal group from the ties which have fettered its thinking, sealed its lips and driven it to a succession of disastrous compromises. It will slowly recover its own personality; the Liberal press will register the change; and in the House of Commons (which does not like constitutional experiments) the rather delicate numerical balance must bring to it sooner or later a certain influence. Lastly, I reckon above all on a change in Mr. Lloyd George himself. His is a quick mind, and from the pinnacle of the Premiership the landscape will have for him a new perspective. So long as he was in control first of munitions and then of strategy, his outlook and his ambition were purely military. The only form in which he could conceive success was "the knock-out blow." Put him, however, in control of the whole statesmanship of the country and he may begin to think rather less of the prolongation and intensification of the war, and rather more of a great peace. He is not a man to do anything by halves, and from the moment that the making of peace has come within the scope of his office, his ambition may prompt him to make a constructive peace. His whole cast of mind inclines him habitually to subtle and far-reaching bargains, and he revels in using the arts of negotiation and management. I do not think that he has yet made up his mind definitely to follow the precedent of Joseph Chamberlain. He means to lead in any event, but on the whole (if the choice is still open to him) I think he would rather lead the Democracy than the Tories. It is quite possible that he may kick down the ladder on which he climbed; Lord Northcliffe's alliance is more agreeable to an aspirant to high office than to a man who has won it. It would be a mistake to assume that Mr. George's American interview expressed his whole mind or his permanent mind. It was a move in his campaign. To those of us who fear that a prolongation of the war on Northcliffe lines would mean the ruin of European civilization, the outlook is professedly disquieting. But the situation is not stable. It is made up of forces in movement with a mobile personality as its center.

H. N. BRAILSFORD.

London.

The Returned Soldier in Canada

WHEN close upon half a million men withdraw from civilian life for an indefinite period, and submit to martial discipline, the quantitative effect alone induces reflection. Canada's total population at the outbreak of the war was conjectural; but we can assert that since fighting began approximately one person in fifteen has gone into uniform. The change of dress becomes more than external; it betokens a deep transformation. The mind of the man in khaki is not a civilian's mind. The longer he marches in step and thinks as a regiment, the more patent is the transition from his former pedestrian outlook. To watch these men entrain for the front makes the contrast all the clearer. Our own natural, uncontrollable bewilderment at such a spectacle seems weakness beside the schooled restraint and freedom from care of the man under orders. We wonder what each is thinking of—if, indeed, it be thinking at all—and we speculate curiously how each will ever divest himself of his acquired personality, and return again to the modes of conventional and individual thought. Nor is such speculation idle. It may become a political problem of some consequence. We should like to know, for we have begun to ask ourselves already, in just what spirit the survivors of the war will return to us—whether as citizens or as soldiers. Shall we assimilate them quietly and without confusion, or are they to prove an irritant disturbing our public life?

Remote as the end of the war may be, the inquiry on this point may be prosecuted now, with some certainty of a safe forecast. Already Canada's soldiers are limping home; poor fellows, some without a leg, an eye, or an arm. All have in varying degrees a dazed, far-away look, the inevitable accompaniment of shell shock. This betrays itself in the less pronounced instances by an occasional momentary listlessness, in severer instances by periods of utter dejection and vacancy. These appearances belie the active mental state of the returned soldier. Talk to him, and it is evident, if the expression may be allowed, that his

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brain has been on fire. The civilian's easy-going, reasoning mind is missing; but the civilian's passions have been through the furnace: prejudices have been hardened, belief in the value and need of direct action has increased, while the impatient disregard of ulterior consequences reveals a radical, intransigent iconoclasm. Here and there one will have developed an almost dangerous power of scathing criticism—an unrelenting earnestness abnormal enough to come within the scope of Gustave le Bon's investigation. This composite picture is not offered as applicable to many thousands of men individually. But it is true of the mass under the example of the more pronounced types; and it is true in particular of the quality of their possible new influence in politics. The citizen-soldier has come back from the trenches the soldier-citizen; and politicians are likely soon to discover the difference.

Many people, civilians especially, to whom this suggested difference has been referred for an opinion, seem reluctant to appreciate its bearing. They bring forward the case of the passive citizen, drawn into the ranks through recruiting oratory, but who, on reaching home after service in Europe, regards public issues as indifferently as before, and becomes exclusively absorbed again in his old pursuits. Pushed to its extreme, such a view would imply that the average man taken out of the rut of common activity and placed for two years in an environment of crusading hysteria could relapse into the normal with an uninfluenced, untouched personality. A political psychologist could scarcely refrain from venturing a contrary hypothesis. The degree and extent of alteration may not be determined until its due manifestation; yet assumption of some alteration seems well warranted. The professional politician may appeal in vain, as before; but who shall foretell the response if a General Grant or a Duke of Wellington turn serious statesman?

Moreover, even admitting that quiescence may continue to characterize the inactive mind of the rank and file, whose will and power remain only latent, what is to be said of the intellectual minority? Hundreds of officers, of impressionable age, men from the professions and from business, graduates of colleges—can they come back dead to the spell of a great task, and perhaps of a great vision? Will they be content to stay forever inarticulate? Is the case of Lafayette and his associates to be unique? Yet many people have the impression that after the Canadian Expeditionary Force returns, its component parts will be dissipated and scattered to the four corners of the Dominion, its spirit totally obliterated by the absorbing counter-forces of mercantile and professional occupation.

The returned soldiers, or at least representative types among them, protest otherwise. As a first step towards retaining their identity as soldiers they have begun to organize. Montreal has its Returned Canadian Soldiers' Association. Ottawa, Winnipeg and Vancouver report similar leagues. An interesting feature in the movement is the frequent allusion to the G. A. R. as a precedent. The constitution of the G. A. R. is being studied in view of the future merging of all the local Returned Soldiers' leagues into a national organization. Montreal has already celebrated an Ypres day. A new national holiday, or the reconsecration of an old one, and a Dominion-wide league of returned soldiers will furnish both the public display and the association grouping that will keep the spirit of the Canadian Expeditionary Force alive.

And if alive, why merely impressive and ornamental? Is there no rôle for it to assume towards the state, in this era of political transition? Is it to pass into Canadian history as a mercenary company that was paid off when its job was done? Or can it become a conscious driving force towards a new and high objective? Civilian opinion holds itself sceptical as to any political good the returned soldiers can do. The soldiers themselves talk differently, and in a strain of confident anticipation. Without prejudice we may indicate the sanguine view many of them entertain.

The Canadian government organized the Expeditionary Force to share in concerted action against the Central Powers of Europe. The men returning have little to say about the Germans, but a great deal about their own and the British government, both of which have lost rather than gained in their estimation. It is perhaps fortunate for the Canadian government that it has had only the collecting, equipping and forwarding of troops to care for, leaving the responsibility of military success in others' hands. Not army supplies alone have the soldiers been thinking of; but, more introspectively, the whole scope and aim of Canadian politics in its larger sense have fallen under their leisured criticism. These men who have sacrificed two or three years of their career for the safety of the empire are in no mood to tolerate for the future any but disinterested public service. If the returned soldiers can speak as with one voice to this end — and they intend to, apparently — politics as a traffic may lose the thriving look it has carried of late. Nor would hostility to the present régime stop short at mere destructive attack. Constructively it would have a consciously conceived end, though an indefinite program, tending towards the more thorough Anglicization of the Dominion, and all that that implies in the issue of immigration, education and finance. The more logical results would appear probably in the west-

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ern provinces, already the scene of promising political experiment.

An inevitable accompaniment of the new feeling will be a still more solid barrier between Canada and the United States, a barrier which already stands high enough from this side of the line. The strongest living tradition in Canadian history is the anti-Americanism of the eighteenth-century royalists, intensified into an irreconcilable animosity by the War of 1812. This resentment has a new lease of life from America's pursuit of neutrality in the war. The extreme vehemence of the returned soldiers on this subject may be a phase of a still unabated fighting frenzy, or a reflection of the cheap London press. The mildest reproach reverts to the historic parallel of the Venetians, exacting hire out of the substance of the faithful who were true to the Cross in its hour of danger. The more violent have gone deep into the vocabulary of national vituperation, with an obviously satisfying achievement. One and all have succumbed to a living prejudice which decades will not remove.

Most tempting to observe will be the attitude of the returned soldiers to House of Commons government, especially on the part of those who were in England during the recent Cabinet crisis, and who gathered the full import of that momentous change, of which the new Premier is both the symbol and the prophecy. Under war stress the function of the highly cultivated, procrastinating and compromising parliamentarian has ceased, perhaps permanently. Even the unity of sovereignty, which his representative character implied, we no longer feel to be a necessary presupposition; our belief in legislation through territorial constituencies is at a very low ebb. We have not yet accorded direct constitutional effect to the clear wishes and perceptions of mass opinion, but we have begun to feel their influence upon the conduct of government. If group or mass opinion can thus act in a quasi-legal way, directly and immediately upon administration, the question of House of Commons government must undergo reconsideration in Canada as well as in England. A Dominion-wide organization of returned soldiers with a common memory and a common purpose may well come to exercise such a mass opinion of palpable weight. That it may do so is the undoubted object of many a returned soldier in whom service overseas has awakened a new and lively interest towards the state.

C. E. Fryer.

Montreal.

Experiment in Education

I DO not know whether the important similarities between modern publicity and ancient magic have been sufficiently noted. The daily newspapers have recently furnished an exemplification of one point of identity—the efficacy of names. What nothing else could do, the magic name of Rockefeller accomplished. It put the idea of experimentation in education on the front page of the newspaper along with world peace, and the leak in the stock market. Such a feat tempts one away from the main theme of educational experiment. To yield to the temptation is, however, too obviously to follow the lead of the newspapers themselves. It were better to rescue if possible the idea from the mass of sensational topics out of which it barely thrusts its submerged head.

Some heroism is required from such a rescuing party. One must resolutely refuse to note that a certain number of editorials are even now deploring the fact that the Rockefeller millions, having debauched university education, have engaged in an insidious attempt to capture elementary education, and thus complete the ruin of the country. One must even strive to forget some of the quasi-official statements which have been put forth, if the idea of experiment in education is to be recovered. One must be sufficiently unimpressed by the word modern in the phrase "modern school" to remember that archæology is a distinctly modern undertaking; the ancients doubtless dug up things when they made holes in the ground, but they most definitely did not "excavate." But the real job comes when one tries to cut the expedition loose from the accumulated baggage labeled culture and discipline, vocational and utilitarian, etc. For all these things not only divert the mind from the thought of educational experiment almost as successfully as the newspapers concealed it, but contradict it. For they belong to just that atmosphere of opinion to which experimentation is fatal. I would not speak lightly of the debates which center about these notions. They not only deserve the respect due to the aged, but they still furnish channels through which things needful to say find outlet. But just in the degree in which they insinuate themselves, the tender plant of experiment is first beclouded and then, withering, droops.

All such terms are large, gross terms; they express goals, ideals, streams of tendency taken *en*

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masse. They are precisely the kind of terms which flourish in any subject before science, that is to say before experiment, enters. The first care of experiment is to break such large things into small and specific elements and problems. When they are so discriminated, the conceptions embodied in familiar catch-phrases, labels and party-cries tend to evaporate. It is in a non-experimental environment that for example the question of language versus science flourishes. Carried into a medium of experiment, the question becomes just what does a language do and just *how* is it done? Not what in general is the educational worth of science, but how does this specific phase of a particular science become effective in the lives of individuals of this particular age who have this particular natural and industrial background? No one educational experiment station can possibly attack any very extensive portion of the field; and in view of the comparatively little which has been done in acclimating science in elementary and secondary instruction, the announced intention to make natural science central in the new scheme is a well advised one. But this intention does not represent a dogmatic solution of an educational problem; it represents a field in which discovery of appropriate subject-matter and method is still to take place. And he knows little of present schooling who is not aware that such a search at once plunges educators into a large number of specific, difficult, harrowingly perplexing problems.

This fact illustrates, to my mind, just the significance, the typical significance, of any sincere endeavor to incarnate an experimental attitude in the conduct of a school. It substitutes detailed analyses for wholesale assertions, specific inquiries for temperamental convictions, small facts for opinions whose size is in precise ratio to their vagueness. It is within the social sciences, in morals, politics and education, that thinking still goes on by large antitheses, by theatrical oppositions of order and freedom, individualism and socialism, culture and utility, spontaneity and discipline, actuality and tradition. The field of the physical sciences was once occupied by similar "total" views, whose emotional appeal was inversely as to their intellectual clarity. But with the advance of the experimental method, the question has ceased to be which one of two rival claimants has a right to the field. It has become a question of clearing up a confused subject matter by attacking it bit by bit. I do not know a case where the final result was anything like victory for one or another among the pre-experimental notions. All of them disappeared because they became increasingly irrelevant to the situation discovered, and with their detected irrelevance they became unmeaning and uninteresting. For the present, the greatest contribution which any one experimental school can make to education is precisely the idea of experiment itself, the ideal of the experimental method as the spirit in which a social problem is to be approached.

Fortunately for the promise of the new undertaking, the experimental school of the General Education Board is not a pioneer. There are already a good many experimental schools, and there are a great many more schools not experimental in the main which are experimenting in this or that topic or method. The rigid hold of non-experimental notions—and it is the nature of non-experimental notions to be rigidly dogmatic in spite of their intellectual vagueness—has already been loosened. The soil has been stirred, and seeds are quickening. Experimental work already done makes it possible to find teachers who are themselves capable of assuming the experimental attitude—the most difficult single condition to realize. The proposal comes at the right moment—a moment which makes the enterprise a type, not merely another school. To concentrate the mind of the public upon the need of the open and inquiring attitude, to lead it to realize that education should not be confined to making a choice among already formulated conflicting alternatives, but offers a field for genuine discoveries, to help it see that progress is completely dependent upon a method for controlling discoveries, is itself the achievement. To familiarize the public with the possibility of such a method in education is an event more sensational than that heralded by even the blackest and largest headlines which announced a Rockefeller School.

JOHN DEWEY.

Charlie Chaplin's Art

THERE died last winter, in New York, a notable artist who was comparatively unknown because he had the ill-luck to miss his right artistic medium. He was a circus clown—"Slivers" of the delectable "baseball game." He should have been "Frank Oakley of the movies." He was condemned to pantomime because of a voice that was inadequate to public utterance, but he was a comedian of surprising imagination, a serious observer, a real student of comic effects, and inherently pathetic even at his funniest.

Charles Chaplin has come into the kingdom that poor Slivers missed. He wears, as Slivers did, a grotesque costume. He has the same gift for clowning—an ability to translate any natural gesture into caricature without the slightest ap-

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parent exaggeration—a gift that seems inherent in his body as grace is so often in the body of beauty. Slivers used to say: "Put a real clown in the middle of a three-ring circus, with nothin' to work with but a shoe-lace, an' he'll make the whole tent laugh." Slivers did it by virtue of a penetrating imagination. He would see the shoe-lace as anything from an angle-worm to a string of spaghetti, and see it and relate himself to it so convincingly that he made you see it as he did. Chaplin performs the same miracle with a walking-stick. He will see it—outrageously—as a tooth-pick, but he will use it exactly as you see tooth-picks used at a lunch counter, looking at you with an air of sad repletion, with a glazed eye from which all intelligence has withdrawn, inwardly, to brood over the internal satisfaction of digestive process—absurdly, but with unimpeachable realism. Or, he is a clerk in a pawnshop, and a man brings in an alarm clock to pledge it. Chaplin has to decide how much it is worth. He sees it first as a patient to be examined diagnostically. He taps it, percusses it, puts his ear to its chest, listens to its heart-beat with a stethoscope, and, while he listens, fixes a thoughtful medical eye on space, looking inscrutably wise and professionally self-confident. He begins to operate on it—with a can-opener. And immediately the round tin clock becomes a round tin can whose contents are under suspicion. He cuts around the circular top of the can, bends back the flap of tin with a kitchen thumb gingerly, scrutinizes the contents gingerly, and then, gingerly approaching his nose to it, sniffs with the melancholy expression of an experienced housekeeper who believes the worst of the packing-houses. The imagination is accurate. The acting is restrained and naturalistic. The result is a scream.

And do not believe that such acting is a matter of crude and simple means. It is as subtle in its naturalism as the shades of intonation in a really tragic speech. In one of Chaplin's films, another actor, disguised as Chaplin, walked into the picture and was received by the audience with a preliminary titter of welcome. He went through a number of typical Chaplin antics with a drinking fountain that squirted water in his face. There was half-hearted laughter. He was not funny. He moved through a succession of comic "stunts" unsuccessfully before it dawned on me that this was not Chaplin at all. When Chaplin followed in, and repeated the exact passages that had failed, the laughter was enormous. It was the difference between a man acting a comic scene and a man living it, and the difference was apparent in a thousand niceties of carriage and gesture and expression of face. In this hairbreadth of difference lies the triumph of Chaplin's art. Expressed in salary, it is the difference between a few dollars a day and a half-million a year. In reputation, it is the difference between the obscurity of the still unknown comedians who competed with Chaplin in the early films and the success of the most famous clown in the world—for Chaplin is as preëminent a favorite in Paris, for instance, as he is here. It is the difference between a genuine artist and an artificial one.

That difference goes very deep. Slivers used to say: "It's imitatin' life—that's what does it. You can't get it by muggin'—" making faces—"it has to be real to you. Why, in that baseball game —" And he would describe how he had built up his elaborate caricature of a catcher from innumerable observations, holding his glove between his knees instead of dropping it on the ground—when he paused to put on his chest-pad—because So-and-So always did it that way, and snatching off his mask with just *this* gesture because it was the way he had seen another catcher do *that*. And he would say: "You know, it's hard work—that turn. You have to keep in your mind where all the players are, on the field and on the bases, all the time. It keeps you watchin'." He was as serious about it as a Russian realist. And, as a result, you would see the baseball fans at the circus wiping the tears of helpless laughter from one eye at a time so as not to lose sight of him for an instant.

The curious thing is that none of the clowns who worked with Slivers in the circus learned the lesson from him. They imitated his "make-up." They stole his "business." But they never reached his secret. And on the films, to-day, as on the stage, you will find all the would-be comedians "mugging" diligently, trying to "put over comedy" with consciously comic gesture and intonation, saying to the audience tacitly, "I'm funny—laugh at me," and concluding that the audience is "a bunch of boneheads" because they do not laugh. The author gives the stage comedians amusing lines, and Chaplin has no lines. Elaborately humorous plots are invented for the spoken drama, and Chaplin's plots are so simple that the popular legend credits him with improvising them as he goes along. He is on a stage where the slapstick, the "knockabout," the guttapercha hammer and the "roughhouse" are accepted as the necessary ingredients of comedy, and these things fight against the finer qualities of his art, yet he overcomes them. In his burlesque of Carmen he commits suicide with a collapsible dagger, and the moment of his death is as tragic as any of Bernhardt's. His work has become more and more delicate and finished as the medium of its reproduction has improved to admit of delicate and finished work. There is no doubt,

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as Mrs. Fiske has said, that he is a great artist. And he is a great lesson and encouragement to anyone who loves an art or practises it, for he is an example of how the best can be the most successful, and of how a real talent can triumph over the most appalling limitations put upon its expression, and of how the popular eye can recognize such a talent without the aid of the pundits of culture and even in spite of their anathemas.

HARVEY O'HIGGINS.

Thaw and the Law's Insanity

BEFORE the conclusion of the last official examination as to his sanity, before Judge Hendricks in New York in the summer of 1915, it was no secret that Thaw was to be found sane. In spite of all he had done, everyone knew before the jury went out that he was to be returned to society as a full-powered member of it. Popular desire for vengeance against him had died out and it was realized that our standards and methods were bound to credit him with a mentality which entitled him to unrestricted liberty. Any attorney who took his case might have counted with confidence on winning it; and a conscientious reluctance to help release a proved enemy of society was all that need have held back an alienist from testifying in favor of this dramatic young man, whose cleverness and persistence during many public appearances had demonstrated that he was not insane as understood by our laws.

His recent performances can leave little doubt, even in the minds of laymen, that the slayer of Stanford White has been a lunatic at least as long as he has been a public character, even if his lunacy does not fit into the narrow frame of our statute. It would seem, then, that something is wrong with the statute and that if we cling slavishly to it we need not hope for any reasonable means of dealing with, or preventing, crimes committed by persons so constituted as to be unable to profit by experience or by punishment.

As regards mental responsibility, the law of our state has lagged far behind the study of mentality. The rule of our statute has it "that a person is not excused from criminal liability as an idiot, imbecile, lunatic or insane person except upon proof that, at the time of committing the alleged criminal act he was laboring under such a defect of reason as: (1) not to know the nature and quality of the act he was doing; or (2) not to know that the act was wrong."

Only a small proportion of those confined as insane could be legally held if the letter of this definition were kept to. The first specification includes only acts of wild irrational violence, such as are rarely met with except in the delirium of epileptics and of drunkards, and the second excuses only on the ground of absence of a knowledge that many insane persons have.

Our statute is the same as drawn up by the Judges in England in 1843. Even then it may have been put forth as only a partial solution, but now it operates regardless of all that has been learned in the past seventy years about man as a social animal. It makes personal responsibilities conform to a purely intellectual standard, whereas since it went into effect, many sciences have coöperated to show that responsibility is too comprehensive to be determined by testing the reason alone.

Evolution has proved that man is descended from animals, that his conduct is controlled by the powerful instincts of herding, mating, migrating, etc., and that in his personal development he reproduces all the phases the race has been through.

The work of Crile, Cannon, and others, has shown the interplay between mental states and glandular activity, and demonstrated in this respect an intimate physical dependence of the mind on the body. Indeed, from some of Cannon's experiments it almost seems as though, if men could get along without their adrenal glands, there would be no more murders. The finer anatomy of the nervous system is the discovery of the last fifty years. By means of it centers for speech, sight, movement, and various memories have been recognized, and thus definite localized physical bases of conduct have been established. The results of these physical discoveries find indorsement by psychologists. The old psychological "faculties" have had to give way before the modern conception of psychological unity, which maintains that memory and attention and similar mental activities are too closely associated with various physical and mental states to be entitled to independent existence. The mind has been shown to be, not an aloof aristocrat, temporarily detained in an inferior lodging-house, but the director of a large coöperative society. The test of its quality and balance is what it produces. It is doing that tries a man out.

An act by itself may establish insanity, as it frequently does in the case of some brutal unreasoning crime, in spite of the fact that, when examined at some time more or less remote from when the crime was committed, the prisoner appears to have all the realities of existence in full consciousness. The insane sometimes recognize these things themselves. In many instances of recurrent insanity, the patient realizes his beginning departure from his usual behavior and rushes off to the alienist. A few days after admission to the hospital, as the attack deepens, he will say he was mistaken after

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all and angrily demand his release. In one patient the first symptom of a recurrent mania is the fact that he lets his beard grow; in another, a certain precise way of talking, not usual to him, precedes an attack by several weeks. A patient with paresis may reason with clearness and still commit a crime which is unquestionably the result of his malady. In a number of recent cases of assaults, paretics have been convicted by a jury, whereas the paresis was promptly discovered by the medical officers of the prison. Feeble-minded persons cannot be proved to be lunatics, yet all are potentially, and many actually, offenders. The psychopathics form a large group of persons who as children, often of unusual brilliancy, did not profit by exhortation or by punishment, and to whom no system of education yet devised has ever given a working grasp of reality. They are destined to disturb public order and they form the most conspicuous instances of legal contest regarding responsibility.

The modern conceptions of hereditary instinctive forces, which in some individuals know no control, of the unity of personality, of responsibility being a matter of the whole personality rather than something confined to the sphere of pure mentality, are not considered at all by the old English consciousness test.

In missing this point of view, our statute misses also the lessons regarding human behavior taught by the study of mental diseases. In spite of the fact that insanity presents no symptoms which are not dormant in everyone, it was only with the coming of Pinel (1745-1826) that its human characteristics were conceded and that the insane ceased to be regarded as museum curiosities, to be visited on the payment of a fee. The systematic observation of the insane was begun in Germany after the Franco-Prussian War, large sums of the indemnity paid the winners being put to that purpose. Through observations extending over many years, it was possible for the Germans, under Kraepelin's leadership, to divide the insane into groups, all the members of which followed a certain characteristic course of behavior. In the past thirty years alienists all over the world have been striving to classify types of mental disease, with the result that there are now many well defined groups, all of which are as characteristic as to symptoms and outcome as are such purely physical diseases as typhoid fever or pneumonia. It is just as certain that a paretic will lack his memory, or that a constitutional inferior, with intellectual capacity good enough to pass mental tests, will fail in situations of stress, as it is that heart disease causes shortness of breath. The members of the different groups can be shown to be irresponsible by the physical, chemical and psychological methods of psychiatry, but these methods include much more than the mere investigation of consciousness to which the statute confines us.

We find ourselves, therefore, in a position today of having knowledge as to the characteristics of irresponsible persons whom the state has to provide for or dispose of, without the ability to make use of it in those dramatic criminal cases which do so much to make crime contagious, or which, as in Thaw's liberation, show the folly and the extravagance of the present antiquated system.

Remedies are at hand, but we fail to avail ourselves of them. The statute might at least be enlarged so as to include other evidences of irresponsibility besides those of purely intellectual character. Or (and this statement may seem to counteract any impression that the writer is in the employ of safe-crackers or gun-men) the community might profit most if insanity as a defense for crime were done away with altogether, as was suggested by THE NEW REPUBLIC of August 14th, 1915. After conviction, those whom careful, complete examinations and observation proved insane, or those whose crimes indicate insanity, would be left to the disposal of special students of this branch of medicine, just as are the 200,000 insane now cared for in the state hospitals, at an annual expense of $35,000,000. This would agree with the trend of psychological medicine, which makes behavior the best test of responsibility.

But the question has a wider significance than the immediate disposal of criminals. Certainly one-third of the present inmates of our prisons presented unmistakable evidences, in childhood or in adolescence, of being atypical in the sense that under the ordinary conditions of life they were destined to go wrong. There is reason to hope that some of these under special conditions of enlistment, of education or of employment in industrial or farm colonies might have been converted into reasonable, useful citizens. The others were destined, sooner or later, to become state charges. If the state would assume some control of these latter early enough, much would be saved from the present expenses of our clumsy legal machinery. But, in addition to that, the totality of crime would be immediately reduced, for such a proceeding would not only eliminate many criminals easily and inexpensively, but would also dilute the evils of gangs, of alcoholism, and the other social ferments to criminality. But it will be difficult to initiate any such farseeing and humane policy as long as our lawmakers, who are the representatives of public opinion, shut their eyes to the practical lessons of responsibility as taught by the past half century's study of mental diseases.

PEARCE BAILEY, M.D.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Against Amateur Officers

SIR: Many of the men who served as privates on the border found consolation that their sacrifice would at least forever eliminate the National Guard from being seriously considered an adequate national defense. In most of these organizations the men were as intelligent as the officers, the main difference being purely tactical knowledge of field evolutions, and in face of entirely new conditions the rank and file, realizing the earnestness and sincerity of their officers, supported them heartily through many mistakes as in time these same mistakes recurred. Ditches were dug and refilled, horses were buried, dug up and buried elsewhere. Countless times horses were led to water where no water was, and in one case double-decked sheep cars were furnished for horse transportation in the confusion of orders given by novices. The same rations were available on the way to the border as were drawn on the return trip, but until the commissary had learned their business the men went hungry, and hunger makes men think. If a private makes an error he suffers immediately and immediately mends his ways. If a captain makes a mistake one hundred men suffer and the captain fails to realize it so quickly or so acutely. If a general makes a mistake the suffering increases in the same ratio, as also does the lack of realization of the error. A much advertised major general recently said that he failed to see the failure of the National Guard and that regular army officers were dazed by the efficiency of the National Guard. If so, the privates were in no way dazed by their efficiency. If officers, through failure to realize their inefficiency by not having it forced on them or through personal interest (a major general gets $666.00 a month and a private gets $15.00) necessitate another trip to the border or across, the majority of privates wish to be commanded by officers of the regular army, more particularly in the higher positions, and not by even the best intentioned and most lovable amateurs.

F. P. FREEMAN.

Red Bank, New Jersey.

Everett's Bloody Sunday

SIR: On the first Sunday in November in the town of Everett, Washington, according to the February *Masses,* five workers were killed, thirty wounded and one hundred imprisoned. The imprisoned men will be tried shortly. The "crime" for which they suffered so outrageously consisted in the attempt to hold a meeting against the wishes of the authorities. To understand the desire of the workers to hold such a meeting it is necessary to understand the situation in Everett. A strike of shingle weavers had been proceeding at that town for some time. The strikers were losing. In the course of their fight they issued a call to their brother workers in Seattle, not many miles distant. They came on two occasions, and on both suffered shamefully. Only a mere handful came the first time. These were seized by the apostles of law and order, piled into waiting automobiles and hurried off to the woods beyond the town, where they were forced to run a gauntlet and suffered fearfully in consequence.

On Bloody Sunday they made their second attempt, but this time with a greater force. The *Masses* says that they were two hundred and fifty strong. It is true that some of them were armed. They were met at the wharf by the sheriff, his deputies and a mob which outnumbered the workers five to one. Every member of the mob was armed. The main fact to consider here is not whether the workers fired first, but that the attitude of the men who met them was frankly hostile and an invitation to violence. The shooting followed an altercation, and then occurred the tragedy.

I have given the story as I have read it in the *Masses.* I have been asked by Herbert Mahler, secretary-treasurer of the Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee, to give as much publicity to this story as I can. Mr. Mahler wants publicity because he must raise funds sufficient to defend the one hundred unjustly imprisoned men. "Defending a hundred men is a damn hard job." In the most naïve manner he has asked me to go to some of the metropolitan dailies and demand that the United and American Press Associations furnish them with this news. That I cannot do. I can, however, write a letter to THE NEW REPUBLIC and ask those of their readers who believe in the right of free speech and in the rights of American labor to send their contributions to the Everett Prisoners' Defense Committee, Box 1878, Seattle, Washington.

H. P. S.

New York City.

Verhaeren's Early Poems

SIR: Coming fresh from reading Verhaeren's earlier works — "Les Flamandes" and "Les Moines" — fresh also from a year's service as delegate of the Commission for Relief in Belgium in the province of Antwerp, where Verhaeren was born and lived as a young man, I cannot accept Mr. Paul Rosenfeld's critical dicta regarding these poems. He says, "Parnassians, pre-Raphaelites, symbolists, they were the poets of the dead past, singers who had retreated into themselves, drawn by homesickness for a departed world. And, for a while, Verhaeren went their way. He fled from life. The world of his earliest poems is not the living Flanders. . . . The Flanders of those cold, formal poems is the land of Rubens, of Brueghel, of the lusty painters of the kirmesses, the shadowy Flanders of the mediæval cloisters, dead Bruges, not living Brussels."

It is not that I do not like Mr. Rosenfeld's theory of Verhaeren's poetic advance, but that he manhandles two great series of poems in order forcibly to fit them into it. "Les Flamandes" is traditional in form, but it is contemporaneous in treatment and it gives me, at least, the smells and tastes and visions and tactile impressions of the Belgium which I knew under the Germans. The thing is magnificently alive, not in the sense that Rubens's paintings are alive, but in the sense that a peasant in the breadline to-day is alive. This is true also of "Les Moines." To write it, Verhaeren went and lived in a monastery at Bornhem. Any one who has gone, as I have, and visited the monks of Averbode and Tongerloo during this present war will realize that these poems are written in the spirit of our day. Monasticism is not a vanished phase of human history; it has never been "popular," else the race would

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have vanished long ago! Monasticism is in the heart; not in the fashion of an age. Its appeal to the minds of men—and this term includes poets!—is evidence neither of artistic immaturity, as Mr. Rosenfeld would seem to imply, nor of a muddle-headed rejection of our puzzling modern world in order to "sink back into the reveries of the old."

There is only one subject—life. A peasant or a monk is surely as good a subject to-day as a Marconi operator or Fokker pilot.

It seems to me unnecessary as well as unjust to consign to poetic limbo Verhaeren's great, palpitant, living studies of humble peasant-folk and cloistered monks, merely because they do not fit into a mechanical civilization or into a critical theory of a poet's artistic evolution.

But in writing this letter I have a better object than that of quarreling with Mr. Rosenfeld. My object is to try to tempt readers of THE NEW REPUBLIC to read again and to love Verhaeren, and to understand, through him, something of the people who are struggling for life behind the Belgian veil.

EDWARD EYRE HUNT.

New Canaan, Connecticut.

Is Lynch-Law Patriotism?

SIR: The daily press has published the details of a federal endorsement of lynch law so absurd that common sanity should demand its immediate retraction. The following is a letter signed by A. J. Peters, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and addressed to one L. H. Luksich, attached to the Coast Guard. It was printed in the New York *Times* of January 24th.

> "It has been brought to the notice of the Department that while you were at your post of duty on January 3d last at the recruiting office of the Coast Guard in New York City, a man approached the recruiting board and wiped his hands on the American flag which was standing nearby, and that you resented this indignity by knocking the man down, immediately reporting your action to your superior officer in a quiet, unassuming manner.
>
> "The department desires to commend the spirit of loyalty and patriotism which impelled your ready defense of the national colors, and in voicing this commendation I am not unmindful that you are a naturalized American citizen, for the reason that the incident is rendered the more conspicuous by this fact, and affords gratifying evidence of your assimilation of the spirit and best traditions of the country of your adoption."

The essence of lynch law is the assumption by private individuals of the judicial and penal functions of the state. In this lynch law is at one with mob rule, the anarchism of assassination, blood feuds, the use of violence in labor disputes, and terrorism generally. The keystone of the arch of civilization is the substitution of orderly judicial and penal processes for the intolerable anarchy of individual self-help.

Insults to the American flag are violations of the law of the state of New York and render the offender liable to arrest, and, if he is proven guilty at a fair trial, to fine and imprisonment. This man Luksich not only took upon himself the function of policeman, but also of judge, jury and jail officials. And he did so at a moment when, in all probability, he was least liable to perform the most important—that of a judge—with credit to the state. In knocking the man down he went a great deal further. Without an iota of authority he administered a punishment from which even the vilest murderers in our state prisons are protected by law. And, finally, he himself committed a breach of the public peace far more serious in the eyes of the law than an insult to the flag—the felony of assault and battery.

For this act Luksich was not only commended in the name of one of the greatest departments of the United States Government, but also, according to the press, by "several national patriotic societies." If this be patriotism then patriotism is a felony and an attack on the foundations of our civilization.

EVANS CLARK.

Princeton, New Jersey.

Allies Might Learn from Hungary

SIR: The Allies are talking of guaranties against the repetition of Germany's sudden aggression. There is a parallel in history when a similar guaranty was exacted and its solution found. When Hungary concluded her Ausgleich in 1867 with Austria she wanted to protect herself against a possible coup-d'état of the Austrian bureaucracy and refused to conclude a pact with the autocratic government of Austria. She insisted upon the introduction of a constitutional government in the Austrian half of the monarchy and was only willing to contract with the Parliament of Austria. A constitution was granted to Austria and the pact was concluded between her and Austria.

Could not the Allies be satisfied if the power to declare war would be vested in the German Reichstag? The element of surprise and in-camera-decision would be eliminated. The world could have ample time to prepare itself for a German attack and a parliamentary discussion would be required before the imperial government could act.

A. C. VON NOÉ.

Chicago, Illinois.

A New Interpretation of the West

SIR: While the political students are still looking for an answer to the cause of the West's overturning of political precedents this year, it might be well to consider a new angle of the situation. I believe the producer, or farmer, as he is more generally termed, is largely responsible for the result, and wish to support this idea by presenting some impressions gathered at the fourth National Conference on Marketing and Farm Credits, recently held in Chicago.

At this conference were represented some one hundred and twenty of the leading farmers' organizations of the country. The grain growers held a cost-finding conference. At this the newly elected Governor of North Dakota, Mr. Lynn J. Frazier, outlined the present unsatisfactory grain and live-stock marketing situation in his own state. This condition led to the revolt of the farmers and the formation of the Farmers' Non-Partisan Political League to name and endorse candidates for office. Mr. Frazier was literally dragged from the seat of his harvesting machine to make the race. Politicians laughed at him and the new farmer

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movement. The platform included declarations for state-owned terminal grain elevators, state-owned packing plants, and state hail insurance. The farmer-governor is to tackle these problems, and is already arranging to have experts from the National Conference on Marketing help put some of them into operation.

The resolutions passed at the end of the conference call upon Congress for much new legislation to help the farmer. Aside from the outstanding demand for an investigation of the live-stock industry, a new short-time credit law to aid tenant farmers and back up the new Federal Farm Loan act is asked. Better land policies, patterned after the Wyoming law, are urged. A federal commission to study the land question was asked, experts to be employed to carry on inquiries in all parts of the country. Marketing news on all products of the farm, to be furnished by the Office of Markets of the Department of Agriculture, and the standardization of all products, including meat animals, is included.

The fact that the resolutions of this conference have always been followed by national legislation, together with the new importance given the West since the recent election, leads students of legislation to predict that farm legislation is to take first importance following the President's railroad program in the present Congress. At any rate the West has spoken at the recent election, and it has some problems for solution behind which is a united farming population demanding legislation.

F. H. Higgins.

Chicago, Illinois.

What is Defense?

SIR: In your issue of December 30th Mr. Lincoln Colcord calls the "policy of backing a merchant marine by a great navy" a "mistaken" one in the case of Germany, but thinks it allowable in the case of our own country—asserting that in Germany it "disclosed a spirit, not of commercialism, but of conquest," which he hopes will not be true of us. But what is the evidence that Germany built her navy for purposes of conquest? Is this conjecture, or is it fact? Would the Germans themselves allow it? Do they not usually say that their navy was simply to protect their commerce and to furnish means of defense in case they were attacked—as in the present war they have been attacked by England? My sympathies are with England, but I do not need a distortion of facts to back them up, and I should like to know what are the demonstrable facts in this case.

A Pro-Ally Truth-Seeker.

Washington, D. C.

Wants More About States

SIR: The conflict between centralization and state autonomy is so interwined with practically all social and political reforms that I would like to see the discussion carried further than in your issue of Dec. 16th. Aside from the question of the nation realizing in the immediate future that state divisions are largely "arbitrary and antiquated" and consciously adopting a system of "regional independence," I think your analysis of "The Failure of the States" is more logical than Mr. Laski's suggestion which surely looks to a retention of existing state governments.

I wish Mr. Laski could go into more detail as to what these "natural units of political administration" can find to administer without duplicating power. What are the "functions of the parts?" If definite functions can be shown, we shouldn't care if they do "derogate from the unique sovereignty of the whole." How will these "natural units" function? Has any state started in the right direction? Then after decrying the danger of "going back to an ancient and false worship of unity" he chooses what seems to me a very inept metaphor. Aren't we, by his hypothesis, travelers breasting the hills rather than "a hill" and wouldn't we reach their summits rather than "its summit by a thousand devious paths?" In connection with this problem of centralization if there is any great foundation for the news story which has recently appeared in the daily press, Mr. Laski's main contention would seem to be justified by the action that France is contemplating remodeling its government to provide for more nearly autonomous legislative and administrative regions.

Howard White.

Lawrence, Kansas.

A Contented Middle-Class Wife

SIR: I am a Middle-Class Wife, too. I am not blessed with two children, but I can appreciate the letter of a Middle-Class Wife enough to disagree with her in many ways. I know the long, busy days of baby-tending with nights of interrupted rest. I know the physical fatigue which prevents the enjoyment of leisure, the mental apathy which makes one feel a mere hanger-on to the big eventful things which are happening in the outside world, the flights of anger and hate at the dulness of apprehension on the part of the husband towards the multitudinous duties of baby-tending.

Perhaps some of us are endowed with the ability to assume the development of a child easily, while with others it is more difficult. But in any case it is a duty to perform; and why not make it a business? The Middle-Class Wife says that she wants to be a mother, but it is the problem of "the knowing what to do with twenty-four hours' worth of bodily and mental development every day" that worries her. If the instinct of rearing a child is not innate, why not develop it by hard work and application? Was she born a lover of mathematics or a 'cello player? Could there be a greater profession than that of being a good mother—which means the rearing as well as the bringing of a child into the world? There are so many helps which an alert mother may get, from magazines, bulletins and books.

For myself (and I am not exceptional) I cannot see how one would be willing to entrust the greater part of the most impressionistic period of a child's development to a stranger, no matter how well trained. The time before school age is too brief and far too precious to share, and is there anything that ever can take the place of the sun and warmth of a mother's love and affection in the unfolding of the baby mind?

As long as one has the strong desire to be equal to the responsibility of rearing her children well, she will be capable of doing it. Coupled with this a college training, a degree of intelligence and the coöperation of a father, why should one shrink from this wonderful opportunity?

E. B. S.

Columbus, Ohio.

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After the Play

WHO can name an American drama of 1850? Or an American drama of 1800? An antiquary like William Winter could easily have done it offhand. Mr. Ranken Towse and Mr. Brander Matthews have inspected our theatrical attic, have even seen its furniture before it was relegated, but these are exceptions among persons who dare to talk about the theatre. There are English plays of 1800, and French plays, known to a fairly wide public. But our seasonal drama, for all the noise one hears about nationalism, has left no more impression than the snow.

Last week in New York the Drama League of America, New York Center, produced, in "the memory and the hope of good drama in America," seven passages from seven representative indigenous plays. Only a few hundred persons saw these afternoon performances, and one might suppose that they had little interest worth recording, but as a matter of fact they were as fascinating as anything this season has disclosed. Only theatrical devotion of a fine kind could have devised such an occasion. It was a labor of love, not less on the part of the players who made it possible than on the part of the producers. Actors are not often credited with genuine enthusiasm. Their profession is so emulative that their possessive instinct is a stereotyped joke. But without their disinterested effort these revivals could not have been managed, and there were thirty who lent themselves to the occasion. Interesting as it was theatrically, however, it was the more intensely interesting because of the nationalism it brought to consciousness, the thin sparse flower it had to exhibit, the rue for American remembrance.

"The Girl with the Green Eyes," by Clyde Fitch, "Shore Acres," by James A. Herne, and "The Texas Steer," by Charles Hoyt, are not yet antiquarian property. "Davy Crockett," the heroic melodrama by Murdock, is of a remoter tradition. "Fashion, or Life in New York," by Anna Cora Mowatt Ritchie, is practically out of reminiscence, while "André," by Dunlap, and "The Contrast," by Royall Tylor, scarcely emerge from the eighteenth century. Of these plays the majority definitely insist on being American. They were written for audiences not yet inured to the idea that American types and characteristics are proper subject-matter for the theatre. In the degree they were colonial, one might say, they were aggressively national. It was only with Clyde Fitch that America was not a preoccupation and a protest.

Of course the selection could not help emphasizing this. The episode from "The Contrast" was chosen purely for its introduction of Jonathan, "the first stage Yankee," and that stilted scene, with its rather cruel humor about his servant stupidity, may have excited a nationalistic nerve. But the theme was thick in "Fashion." "Fashion" is a satire on New York society in the fifties, and the Drama League was wise to reproduce a full act from it, and to invoke the aid of Miss Mary Shaw, Mr. Walter Hampden and Mr. Edwin Nicander. The American parvenue, Mrs. Tiffany, is the target of the author's scorn, with a poet, T. Tennyson Twinkle, a "society" ass, Augustus Fogg, and a Cockney valet worshipped in his disguise as a count, to make the satire ample. The contrast to this moneyed shallowness and frippery is offered by "a fine old American gentleman," Adam Trueman, whose disgust with Mrs. Tiffany and her daughter Seraphina and the French maid, Millinette, and the colored servant in livery is on such broad lines that New York to-day is felt to have an effeteness scarcely imaginable in 1850. But "Fashion" is by no means a labored application of Jeffersonian ideals to a vulgar and cringing parvenue. It has much crispness and humor, and a pleasant common sense. The nationalism it celebrates is a little antique at moments. Adam Trueman denounces "livery" in a mood of republicanism that is already old-fashioned. But conventions have changed far more about the noble frontiersman, "Davy Crockett," than about the pretentious Mrs. Tiffany. "Davy Crockett" was not infrequently romantically silly. His "heroic" rescue of the beautiful young lady took a blizzard with enormous seriousness, and the final touch was given by his fight with the wolves. In "penny dreadfuls" this fustian is still to be found, but it is as strange in the theatre now as "Hecuba."

Of the keenest interest in itself this revival makes us sadly aware of our dramatic feebleness. We are still children in the artistic kingdoms. One of the great interchanges of spirit during the European war took place between a group of Russians and a group of Englishmen. In December, 1914, a concert of representative English writers gave heed to the taunt that the Russians are barbarians, and, in the name of their own barbarian Shakespeare, sent a word of salutation and fraternity to the Russian literary guild. Some months later there came a warm-hearted reply from nearly a hundred Russian men of letters. "We have always wondered," said the Russians, "at the breadth and the manifoldness of the English soul, in whose literature one finds, side by side, Milton and Swift, Scott and Shelley, Shakespeare and Byron. . . . You scarcely know what Lord Byron was to us at the dawn of our literature, how our greatest poets, Poushkin and Lermontov, were swayed by him. You scarcely know to what an extent the Shakespearean Hamlet, the Prince of Denmark, has become a part of our literature, how near to us is Hamlet's tragedy. We, too, pronounce the names of Copperfield and Snodgrass with a little difficulty, but the name of Dickens is as familiar to us and as near to our hearts as the names of some of our own writers. We trust, and we even permit ourselves to hope, that our friendship will not end on the fields of battle. . . . We trust even further. We trust that evil will finally become extinguished in the hearts of men, that mutual ill-feeling will be bitter and poignant no longer, and that, when ears of corn will be again fluttering upon the fields, mutilated by trenches and ramparts and drenched in human blood, when wild flowers will begin to grow over the countless unknown graves, time will come, when the nations that are separated by such a tremendous gulf to-day, will come together again upon the one great road of humanity and will turn back once more to the great, universal words, that are common to all men."

These beautiful and memorable phrases pay a tribute to the national treasury of drama and literature such as no nation could pay to itself. Will America one day be able to indicate its own similar achievement, its own contribution to the affluence of human expression? It may be chauvinistic to ask the question, but the thinness of the creative originality in these dramas suggests how far we have to go. Are we tempted to national complacency? We may well remember the tasks that are before us. We cannot forever go on trying to live on the unearned increment of European art.

F. H.

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Beneath the Battle

Why Men Fight, by Bertrand Russell. New York: The Century Co. $1.50.

AMERICANS have known for some time that the English philosopher Bertrand Russell came into conflict with his government because of his lectures and has been repudiated by his university and restricted in his civil liberties. What this has meant not many Americans have inquired. Some have said: England is at war. Bertrand Russell is in conflict with the authorities. The authorities may not know much about philosophy, but they probably know what is best. If they don't, it is too bad, but Bertrand Russell must put up with it. You can't expect such luxuries as "freedom of speech" in time of war.

The most famous of stories deals with a lofty imperial judge who exhibited the inadequacy of the law. The inadequacy of the law is a twice-told tale. But no one, not the clerks of sacred legend or the masters of corrective comedy, not Rabelais or Swift or Voltaire or Heine or Ibsen or Shaw or Anatole France, has ever done complete justice to the gift of humanity for misunderstanding, to the irony of smallness in power. Authority insists on reverence. Authority in the person of some frantic abortioner asks for universal humble acquiescence as he proceeds to his act of abortion. This is the bitter extravaganza to which generation after generation has been invited, for which docility is inculcated and etiquette arranged. As if authority had never robed itself to embody hate and fear, men who would never stoop to infamy themselves readily align themselves with legalized infamy. And they do not even suspect their own dishonor.

It is a good deal to ask of anyone in wartime, even of an American who is three thousand miles from the slaughter, to employ his sense of justice. But the sense of humor, if not the sense of justice, is absolutely required in Bertrand Russell's case. Here is a human being who has brought to the consideration of the war an intellect of extraordinary scrupulousness, an imagination penetrated with consciousness of human values, a broad and serious sense of responsibility, a complete emancipation from personal motives and a complete independence of class and party and creed. He is not a person of any dubious ethnic origin. He is not an unstable Celt or materialistic Jew or lamentable Hindu. If a man's pedigree as an Englishman had to be tattooed on him, Bertrand Russell's could have been tattooed from memory by any one of a hundred country-house beldames. He is as English as cricket. He did not care for his country, it is true, the way Lord Northcliffe cares for it, the way William Randolph Hearst cares for this country. Nor did he propose to turn his back on his beloved country, leaving it to its dear devices, the way New Englanders turned their backs on their indulged New York, New Haven and Hartford. Bertrand Russell loved his country but not as if it were a Joss, a thing of profit, or a slut. He did not accept the same relation to it that inquisitors once accepted to their religion, that mountaineers do to their moonshining, that peasants do to their Black Hand. In the hour when many simpler men flung themselves under the Juggernaut of patriotism, Bertrand Russell felt true patriotism to be the control, the guidance, the sublimation of that tremendous sacrificial impulse. He saw his countrymen go to war and he knew it was for their common country. That he could not prevent. But the consequences of their blind heroic impulse, its bearing on the world in which his country would have to continue to function, he was bound by every law of his nature to estimate, for very love of England if for nothing else.

It is possible that all the lectures to which the British government took exception are not contained in "Why Men Fight." Considering the nature of those that are included, however, and the quality of man they exemplify, the official misunderstanding is established. It is easy to see what a wartime government, any wartime government, requires. It requires its philosophers to fall in with the tribe, to bellow when the ringleader bellows, to shout "atrocity" or "barbarian" or "democracy" in chorus, to wear war-paint and dance around the ring. It is not merely the Haeckels and the Euckens of whom this is expected, it is expected of French and of English philosophers in a similar spirit. And if, to the honor of England, a philosopher refuses to abandon the realities that he deems ultimate not only for himself but for his nation, there is a howl of anger from the mob, subservient clamor from every perjured intellectual, a decree by government that gives to silly prejudice the intonation of high loyalty, the intonation of the voice of God.

Those who are out of the mêlée may sympathize with the trials of officialdom. The crisis is harrowing. About the merits of Bertrand Russell's attitude, however, it would be final delinquency to close one's mind. It matters a good deal that the British government should not be unnecessarily hampered during the conduct of a merciless war. But everything depends upon what one means by "hampered." There are Germans who demand that in the conduct of a merciless war they should not be hampered by neutrals, should not be hampered by any sort of criterion normally deemed "human." When, on this frantically patriotic principle, the Germans sank the Lusitania, few disinterested people agreed with them. Yet when another kind of logicality is resisted by Bertrand Russell, the logicality of blind submission to the state, of reciprocal animosity, of national egoism, of war-fever and destructiveness and cynicism, he is confronted by the argument that he is "hampering" his country, and he is muzzled like a dog. And just because certain Americans want England to win, at any cost, this intellectual von Tirpitzism does not shock them. They have arrived at the stage where any fool who cries "victory" or "patriotism" or "loyalty" seems wiser than the sage who cannot take such slag as his nation's spiritual fuel.

To read "Why Men Fight" with any sympathy is to be entranced by the honesty, the concentration, the intelligence, the equilibrium of its author. He is the kind of man, I have no doubt, in whom the war disclosed to himself a whole set of false presumptions about the nature of human character and the possibilities of reasonableness and the chance of avoidance of conflict and giving pain. "It would be better a hundredfold," he was driven to exclaim even recently, "to forego material comfort, power, pomp, and outward glory than to kill and be killed, to hate and be hated, to throw away in a mad moment of fury the bright heritage of ages." That is a bias of his nature which it would be dishonest not to recognize. But it is not a bias that decides the character of his thinking. That thinking has made a place for everything the war has had to offer him. It has made a place for the obvious aggressiveness of Germany, for the reasonableness of preparing to meet that aggressiveness, for the exaltation of patriotism, for the impossibility of passive pacificism. Everything spiritual in him may have been crucified by the war.

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One supposes this to be the case by reason of the tenseness of his thinking. But he has had such vigor and health of mind that he could meet this terrific spiritual crisis without quailing, without shirking, without recanting. If one were looking for a truth-lover in the present crisis, indeed, one could find few as great as Bertrand Russell. "Men fear thought," he says in his chapter on education, "as they fear nothing else on earth—more than ruin, more even than death. Thought is subversive and revolutionary, destructive and terrible; thought is merciless to privilege, established institutions, and comfortable habits; thought is anarchic and lawless, indifferent to authority, careless of the well tried wisdom of the ages. Thought looks into the pit of hell and is not afraid. It sees man, a feeble speck, surrounded by unfathomable depths of silence; yet it bears itself proudly, as unmoved as if it were lord of the universe. Thought is great and swift and free, the light of the world, and the chief glory of man." One imagines that this paean burst from him after his own experience in the pit of hell, after he fought through to some understanding of the war.

In order to understand the war Bertrand Russell had to overhaul his universe. He might have chosen between his country and Germany, and called that "understanding" the war. He might have taken a Henry Ford view, childlike pity for the "boys" in the trenches. He might have attempted realistic politics. He might have remained a sheer pacifist, blaming a mysterious "system" and standing aside. Any one of a hundred schemes of explanation might have sustained him, but all his life he had gone back of the ostensible, gone into the hinterland of human nature, to see if something that did not ask him to shut off candor and speculation could be summoned for his guidance about life. And by examining the springs of men's preferences during this struggle, the sources of action, the bases of behavior, he picked up clue after clue to the passions that were wheeling around him and spinning his senses with every turn. He picked up clues that enabled him not merely to revise but to reckon, to bring the reeling panorama into focus, to attain a comprehension that meant neither starvation for his tribal loyalties nor suffocation in the squalors of partisanship.

It is this comprehension that Mr. Russell's colleagues of Cambridge University and the small-brained censorship were afraid of. They were afraid to see their cause taken out of the hothouse of propaganda and exposed to fresh air. And yet what had they to fear? It is true that Mr. Russell believes in the principle of growth. He does not think that private landlordism is good for the citizenship as a whole. He thinks that conscientious parents find it very expensive to bring up babies, and that they will go on exercising birth-control until the state faces this economic factor in population. He thinks that the monarchical organization of industry must be swept away. He thinks the present systems of education in Germany and France and America are subservient to privilege and narrow patriotism. He thinks that many women find motherhood unsatisfying, that the romantic movement was bad in putting too much emphasis on personal love and that some sort of "infinite purpose" must be shared by people in marriage if they are to develop. He thinks illicit love is unsatisfactory. He does not entirely agree with the socialists or the pragmatists or the labor leaders or the imperialists or the bishops. He does not regard the diminution of poverty as anything more than a preface to politics. He sees danger in labor's attitude toward thought. He criticizes religion and marriage and war and property and education in their character as political institutions, and he criticizes the great state for the multiple opportunities it offers to corrupt and ambitious and ruthless men, and its disadvantages for democracy. But while many of his criticisms are unsparing, none of them is devious or poisoned. The principles of democracy and liberty are frankly and utterly his principles. And nothing but a barren conception of these quite insistent questions, a tremulous regard for property and the church and every other establishment, could have led England to restrict and handicap him.

It is not that Bertrand Russell is an impossibilist. "In spite of all the destruction which is wrought by the impulses that lead to war," he avows, "there is more hope for a nation which has these impulses than for a nation in which all impulse is dead." Mr. Russell is not Chinafied. Nor is he a person of mere intellect, a fish. "Mind, in its dealings with instinct, is *merely* critical: so far as instinct is concerned, the unchecked activity of the mind is apt to be destructive and to generate cynicism. Spirit is an antidote to the cynicism of the mind: it universalizes the emotions that spring from instinct, and by universalizing them makes them impervious to mental criticism." The claims of the spirit have Mr. Russell's full and free acknowledgment. Where he differs from the partisan is simply in the price he is willing to pay to keep men from going to the shambles, in the accent he lays on such words as honor and self-respect and national pride. He understands perfectly well that the enemy has to be fought, as the fighting insect has to be crushed. But he knows that to exterminate that insect he must eventually drain marshes, not use lotions and build screens.

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Many passages in "Why Men Fight" indicate that Mr. Russell is neither omniscient nor entirely consistent. He seems to dispose of incompatibilities easily, and yet to demand radical changes, "if the world is to be saved." He is aware of diplomatic iniquities such as occurred in Persia, and yet he has great hope of super-legal arrangements based on the claimants' force. Granted that he is vulnerable, if not in these in other respects, the fact remains that he has reached the height for large survey of this war. It is not an altitude of rhetoric or evangelical spirit. It is the angle for penetrating vision. He accepts man as he is, nationalism, industrialism, civilization. On that basis, candidly, searchingly, commodiously, he entertains the problem of the war. If he declines to believe that blind patriotic impulses give the answer it is not because he is unpatriotic. There are in himself the deep sources of patriotism. But he cares too much for his country not to remind it of mankind. F. H.

Skirting the Eternities

The War for the World, by Israel Zangwill. New York: The Macmillan Co. $1.50.

MR. Zangwill has a social function which no other Jew seems able adequately to perform. He can interpret with a singular and arresting brilliance the peculiar phenomena of the Jewish mind. He has caught with the vivid pen of a master that subtle blend of mystery and scepticism which in men like Stahl and Heine and Disraeli has enriched, while it has baffled, a wondering world. It is sheer folly to believe that the Jew is understood by the majority of men. Few of the old antagonisms are dead. Most of the old suspicions linger, like ghosts that seek the privilege of a new embodiment. The traditions of anti-semitism feed on the quarrels of men. Where there is disaster, there also the Jews are bound to suffer. They are somehow different. They may vie with the Hohenzollern in their love for Germany. They may save England from financial disaster. Their intellectual record in Russia, in France, in Italy, may be out of all proportion to their numbers. Still, their presence seems to act as a ferment to discontent. They do not prove capable of assimilation. Though you erect the cross over their graves, they are buried with the thought of Zion in their hearts. They are with their environment but not of it. Their personality has remained even while they have most eagerly striven to discard it.

For twenty-five years Mr. Zangwill has been interpreting this strange people to us. There is no aspect of them he has neglected, as there is no aspect his art has not enriched. He has come to their interpretation with the sympathy and understanding that is born of kinship. The pen that has described their lives has written in letters of their own blood. No one has unraveled with the same skill the tender ironies of Heine, the lofty eternalism of Spinoza, the mystic scepticism of Disraeli. It is through him that we catch the spirit of those old Ghettos where, amidst the crudities of torment and misunderstanding, life was made coeval with thought. It is through him that the secrets of that age-long Hebraic tragedy—a tragedy already old and sublimely given expression when the besotted revels of a goat-feast pointed dimly forward to the Athenian drama—have become a treasured part of the modern soul. His books have enabled us to see that which Rembrandt saw in some of the mightiest of his paintings and left as

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the epitome of a history at times too tragic almost for chronicle. It is to this record that Mr. Zangwill's new volume is a precious contribution.

To say that it is about the war is to do it less than justice. The war is but the background upon which has been woven a canvas at times almost epic in its wistful grandeur. What above all stands out are its honesty and its humanity. Here is the charity which has in it all the grace the Greeks gave to that word—the tenderness which neither blames nor pardons but is concerned above all to understand. Mr. Zangwill's book is almost in itself a philosophy. It is the philosophy of that famous rabbi who anticipated the teaching of Christ and found in neighbor-love the secret of peace. Yet it has in it the stern distinction between right and wrong which tradition terms Hebraic. It is, as Huxley pointed out in a famous essay, eminently a philosophy for men. Certainly it was the practice of its precepts which three centuries ago took a boatful of Puritans on a famous pilgrimage. Mr. Zangwill has no doubts of his conclusions. He wants England to win this war. He hates the philosophy of Prussianism. But equally he is concerned unsparingly to condemn the hypocritical morality which finds in England a perfection of the angels. He is anxious, once his choice of causes has been made, to look to its consequences in action. Being in the right does not make of blindness to results a moral virtue. The pilot who has chosen the right course may not for admiration of his rectitude abandon the ship. So Mr. Zangwill devotes himself to the discussion of the three issues which appeal most to him in this crisis—the theory of the state, the freedom of women, and the future of the Jews.

About the first two he has little to say that is new, though what he does say is always well said and wisely. Much of his discussion of feminism, no less than his remarks on the more sinister side of British imperialism, constitute a polemic so powerful in character as to make it almost a duty to read it. But the central point of importance in the volume is undoubtedly its discussion of the Jewish problem. He sets out with a discussion of the Russian situation, and the frankness with which the elements of that monstrous tragedy are considered merits the highest praise. He pricks with the easy mastery of one actually in possession of the facts the eerie bubble we call Mr. Stephen Graham. He shows that from the commencement of the war Russia has sacrificed her Jewish citizens to make a butcher's holiday. Exiled, massacred, persecuted by every degree and kind of brutal malice, at no period of their history has their fate been more unfortunate. In the hospitals and on the field they have fought gallantly without even remote prospect of the recognition of their courage. For the Jew this new Russia is but the old written even more terribly. Every device of the past remains. Professor Milyukov tells us that nothing is to be looked for; Edward Gray could only promise that he would do his best. And meanwhile full rein is given to the freest exercise of the anti-Semitism which led America to deny her alliance to a land stained with innocent blood. Yet it was in this Russia that Mr. Stephen Graham—and Mr. H. G. Wells in his famous six weeks' tour—announced the discovery of Christianity! Verily, it is the Christians who crucify Christ a second time.

If Russia is hopeless, there seems no better hope in Poland. That stepsister of the nations craves her freedom only that she may emulate the zeal of her oppressor. If in Germany and in Rumania emancipation has been technically achieved, that accomplishment is the grim shadow of unreality. One thinks, for example, of Ehrlich, the great

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bacteriologist, and of Liebermann, the most distinguished of Anglo-Saxon scholars, condemned to unimportant posts because of their race. Even France desired to bar the doors of the Academy to Bergson because of a Semitic interpolation in his ancestral series. In England and Italy alone is there any attempt at European equality—and they each have a Jewish population too small to be more than sporadically important. Nor is Jewish emigration to this country on a large scale possible, even if it were desirable. Nothing is more pathetically paradoxical than the Jewish love for the countries that oppress. No people resists more strongly the attempt at expatriation.

There remains the Zionist dream. There is something tremendous in the thought of a rejuvenated Palestine standing to the east as Greece stood to the west two thousand five hundred years ago. The Jews who have given their statesmen to every nation in the world may be trusted to achieve efficient self-governance. A Palestine under British protection might well redress the balance of the centuries. The difficulties, indeed, are immense. The existence of Turkey, the Christian tradition, European Jewish indifference, the divorce between Judaism and Jewish nationality, all these have to be weighed in the balance. It is a big question whether the Jew who has so hardily achieved the cosmopolitan mind can nationally resettle himself in the old groove. It is a question whether the genius of the race is in any widespread fashion suited to the industrial opportunities that Palestine offers. None of these things can be known save by experiment. But it is by experiment that dreams come true.

Mr. Zangwill's book abounds in brilliant writing and flashing epigram. It is written with a full mind and a full heart. Now and again indeed, one is oppressed by a certain parvenu quality, as when he repeats too easily some of the light catchwords about Treitschke who is the German Macaulay, and Hegel whose theory of the state Hobbes anticipated by almost two hundred years. His passionate enthusiasm for the pun degrades more than it elevates his pages—since often enough he is willing to sacrifice the dignity of his subject to the sound of his verbiage. But these, after all, are the faults of manner rather than of substance. This book is a precious possession which will long outlive the war. It is not unworthy of its subject. It sets the perspective of a mighty theme. It never discusses save to illuminate. It touches nothing that it does not adorn.

H. J. L.

Joseph Fels

Joseph Fels: His Life-work, by Mary Fels. New York: B. W. Huebsch. $1.00.

THE story of Joseph Fels is the story of a great idea which he promoted. In his later years Fels became almost a symbol of the single tax, and it was his money that was always bountiful for the propaganda. The commodity he made was a most useful one, his business sense was strong, and he could scarcely have helped acquiring a fortune. He was a model employer, straining as close to utopia as possible. But he was not content with his capitalism as it was. He had no Carnegian illusions about abolishing exploitation by personal kindness, or solving class conflict by distributing the largess of Santa Claus. He remains unique as an American millionaire who used his wealth consistently to spread an economic heresy which

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would reconstruct the system under which that wealth had flowed to him.

The idea of the single tax is a noble work of art. It is as perfectly put together as a chess-game. It has elegance of form and a classic simplicity of persuasiveness. There is a subdued joyousness about single-tax writings that can come only from minds captivated by the sheer beauty of the idea. There are such endless implications for agriculture and industry. With a stroke it seems to liberate the farmer on his land and the worker in the factory. It sounds as scientifically effective as it is utopianly attractive.

Mrs. Fels's story of her husband's life makes one feel his indefatigable zest in the great idea. His life is really the evolution of his philosophy—and of hers, for who can doubt the vigor of the intellectual rôle she played? She shows how his experiments with vacant lot gardening in Philadelphia, with farm colonies for the unemployed in England, soon led him to see the unsoundness of small holdings, even when business was fused with philanthropy. Labor, put into a holding, merely increased its rental value, which continued to be skimmed off at the top. State purchase merely forced up the price of land, instead of making it cheap and accessible. Only the taxation of sites, he concluded, would force land into use and render it truly competitive with industry. So the colonization schemes were abandoned for the extensive propaganda in England and America, culminating in the endowment of the Fels Fund Commission. It was a life of daring experimentation, in which the social economy was of as much concern as private business.

This fortunate life is fortunate in its recording. Here is no wealthy manufacturer patronizing a propaganda of others, but an intimate servant of the great idea which he has absorbed and lived. The book is even more than this. It is an incomparable manual of land economics, perhaps the clearest and most concise short exposition of the single-tax idea that has been written. The writing is of an admirable intellectual force. The personal life is not ignored, but it is all told with dignity and reserve. A story which might have been sentimentalized is given a style almost austere. On every page there is the mark of understanding, a luminous command of fact and theory. The book might justly have been called "Joseph and Mary Fels: Their Life-work."

R. B.

Contributors

to this issue

H. N. Brailsford is an English authority on economics and on the Balkans, is the author of "The War of Steel and Gold" and other books on international affairs, and has contributed to The New Republic articles on British politics.

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Harvey O'Higgins first became known for his short stories. In conjunction with Judge Lindsey he wrote "The Beast," and more recently, in collaboration with Miss Harriet Ford, has written four plays. He was born in Canada in 1876.

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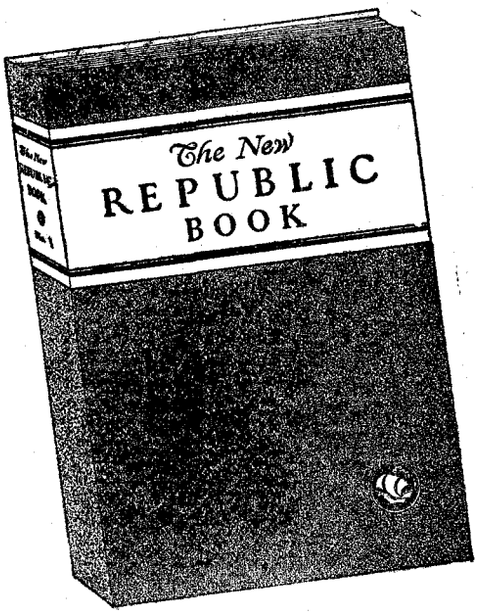

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SUPPLEMENT TO

The New REPUBLIC

of February 3rd 1917

POSTSCRIPT

Thursday Morning, February 1st, 1917

THE long struggle within Germany between the Chancellor and the Admiralty, between the moderate and the violent, is over. With a suddenness which no one not in the heart of Germany could predict, the extremists held at bay for many months have taken control of the situation, and the whole history of the world will be altered as a result. Of the consequences no one is in a position at this moment to speak with authority.

The immediate duty of this country is clear. Without any delay diplomatic relations must be broken. The German ships in American harbors should be seized at once and held as hostages. The navy should be mobilized. An anti-submarine fleet should be assembled. Steps should be taken to arm all merchant ships. Plans for financial and economic assistance to the Allies should be set in motion.

Diplomatic, economic and military conferences between the Allies and all neutrals concerned should be initiated at once, and with all clearness possible the terms and conditions of our entrance into the war should be discussed and announced. Partisanship within the country must disappear, and every bit of effort and mind concentrated on clarifying American purpose and making it effective.

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